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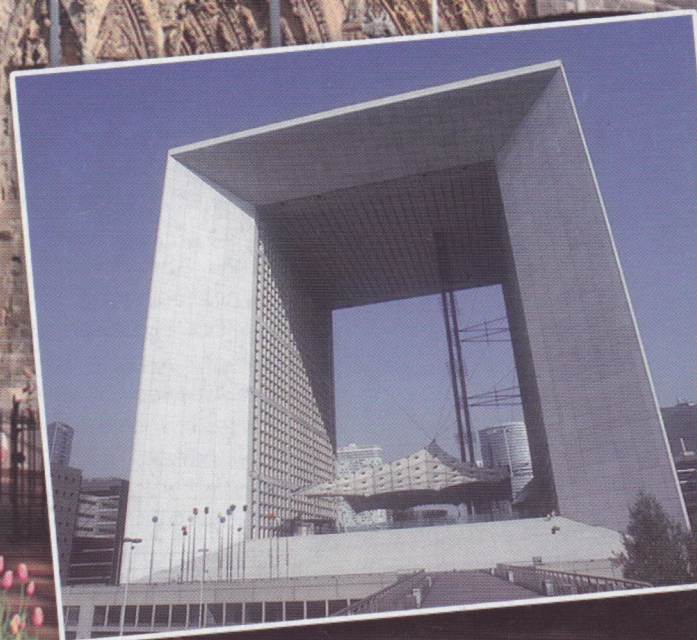
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Cubes and cathedrals

– the emptiness at the heart of the West

★ Interviews: *Thomas Fleming and Andrew Fraser*

★ Immigration: *1905 and now*



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Civilization fatigue

Two recent events – one shocking, one less obviously dramatic but filled with looming menace – underlined the precarious state of our civilization.

The shocking event was, of course, the New Orleans flooding and its aftermath. The untrammelled panic and criminality, the racial confrontations, the distrust of government and that government's inability to cope with the disaster signal that all is far from well in the world's greatest superpower (New Orleans is not the only major American city that suffers from *Lord of the Flies* syndrome). These events hint that there is a dangerous vacuum at the centre of American life. New Orleans' long-leaking levees, and the blithely ignored warnings of those who warned of the certainty of disastrous floods, are perhaps symbolic of a deeper carelessness.

It seems abundantly clear that the reserves of common values, community spirit and patriotism which nourish America's might are starting to run low. The great, flailing pugilist of world affairs has a fluttering murmur where there was once a healthy heart.

Yet America's present leaders choose to ignore this cultural angina, and distract themselves in bombastic foreign policy and hubristic wars beyond the frontiers. All too many of America's (and Britain's) politicians, journalists and academics are trying to remake the world in accordance with sentimental notions of 'human rights' and 'multiculturalism', while just around the corner from their offices the West is collapsing in on itself. Historical parallels are always inexact, but it is salutary to remember that Roman legions continued to fight and win battles even as their emperors were stabbing each other in the back. Today's Western would-be architects of global utopias may be no more historically successful than was Alexander the Great, whose heroic hoplites were simply thrown away in the vastness of Asia, early sacrifices to 'multicultural' syncretism.

British and other European observers should not feel smug. For all its faults, America is a civilizatory cousin, and her dilemmas are increasingly ours. If there is a canker at the heart of American society, it is one shared by all other Western countries. Europe's leaders are as etiolated and decadent as their American counterparts – perhaps even more so. Powerful forces in all European countries have lost belief in their own countries and traditions, and are increasingly unwilling to defend them.

Such self-doubt, combined with historical

ignorance, is the only possible reason for the EU's decision to invite Turkey to apply for membership – the second event which serves to highlight our plight. The Prime Minister who acts in the name of Britain was abetted equally in the negotiations by Labourites who are ostensibly interested in social harmony and Conservatives who say they wish to conserve Britain's character. For many on the Left, the admittance of Turkey is the opportunity for them metaphorically to embrace millions more of the world's 'victims'. For many on the Right, it means merely the opportunity to keep down nannies' wages. Such cheesy or crass considerations should have no part in grown-up policy-making.

With honourable exceptions, our self-appointed leaders sometimes seem to have civilization fatigue – a moral and cultural *angst* – as if the burden of carrying the weight of centuries has suddenly become too great for them. Our political class has forgotten how to rule, or cannot even comport itself with dignity. It has forgotten its own origins. And many ordinary people are starting to sense that those who run our lives do not really care about us at all, but are in love with themselves, or with power. This is why our religious leaders preside over emptying churches. This is why so many decline to vote, or go to live in the Dordogne or Malaga. This is why our social and cultural lives are increasingly consumed by trivia. We are becoming trivial, because our exemplars are trivial. They – and therefore we – are sinking into querulous senility, even as the modern-day Goths rush the wire fences of Ceuta and Melilla, cross the Straits of Otranto unmolested by the Italian Navy, and detonate bombs in WC1.

The good news is that there are still vast reservoirs of strength in the West. Many millions of Americans and Britons (and other Europeans) still believe in their resplendent inheritances, even if their respective leaders do not. A rich political harvest still awaits visionary leaders – who may emerge from the Conservative tradition or from other vehicles – who believe in themselves and their patrimony, and can connect with the still largely uncorrupted general public. The undercutting of all things we all witness every day is also undercutting the destructive ideologies that have so unmanned us. If the ongoing dissolution of Britain and the West brings many dangers, it also affords new opportunities for those who can seize them. What is certain is that if we are to avoid sharing the fate of Ozymandias, we are all going to have to make some very hard choices, and very soon. □

We've been here before...

Angela Ellis Jones looks at some pioneering immigration control legislation

The current immigration crisis echoes events of exactly a hundred years ago, which led to the passage in August 1905 of Britain's first piece of effective immigration law, the Aliens Act 1905. ('Alien' was the term given to all those who did not owe allegiance to the British monarch.)

From the 1880s, Britain had provided a haven for large numbers of persecuted and disadvantaged Russian and Polish Jews. Their numbers and 'alien' appearance gave rise to alarm. About a quarter of them arrived destitute, and required support from public funds. Some needed medical treatment. Although most turned out to be respectable citizens there was a disproportionate number of criminals in their midst. Among them were terrorists who took advantage of Britain's tradition of granting asylum to political offenders.

Following the recommendations of a wide-ranging Royal Commission, the 1905 Act excluded from Britain those would-be immigrants who were considered to be 'undesirable' – ie 'criminals, prostitutes, idiots, lunatics, persons of notoriously bad character, or likely to become a charge upon public funds'. Those who could prove that they were escaping political or religious persecution were exempt from the requirement to be self-supporting. An immigration inspectorate was set up at the major ports to examine all would-be entrants for desirability.

The Act also provided for the deportation of people who turned out to be undesirable once they had settled here. It worked fairly well, insofar as it deterred many undesirables from embarking for Britain, and remained in force until superseded by more rigorous provisions in 1914.

Karl Marx was wrong about many things, but his remark that 'history repeats itself, the second time as farce' well describes Britain's current immigration debacle. Just as it was a hundred years ago Britain is again faced with virtually uncontrolled incursions of masses of people, with unacceptable numbers of destitute, sick, criminals and terrorists among them. Although we now have stringent immigration laws, these can be circumvented by anyone who utters the magic password 'asylum'.

The main difference between 1905 and now lies in the attitude and competence of the British state. The Conservative government which passed the 1905 Act did not hesitate to protect British interests. Although only 30% of adults had the vote, the government was able to respond to public opinion to exclude those who might prove to be a liability.

It could do so because in 1905 Britain was a fully sovereign nation which had complete control over her immigration policy. Now much of it is subject to human rights constraints. In the wacky world of human rights, there is no such thing as an 'undesirable immigrant'; often the more undesirable a person is on objective grounds, the greater is his claim to stay on 'human rights' grounds.

This can be illustrated by two cases that were decided by the European Court of Human Rights in the late 1990s. In *Chahal*, the Court ruled that a non-national could not be deported to a country where there was a real threat that he would be subject to torture, inhuman or degrading treatment, which

would of course include the death penalty. The more serious the offence he had committed abroad, the more likely he would be subject to such penalties, and so the more likely he would be to gain the protection of the Convention.

In the other case, the European Court held that a man detained in Britain for serious drug offences who was later found to have AIDS could not be removed to his country of origin since this would breach various articles of the Convention, including the article which prohibits inhuman treatment. The Court thus stretched the interpretation of the Convention at an estimated cost to the British taxpayer of £250,000 in this particular case, and of incalculable millions in many subsequent cases for which it provided a precedent. In 1905, the fact that a person had syphilis would have been a very good reason for removing him, on both moral and financial grounds.

To their credit, British judges had decided both of these cases against the applicants. But once they were bound by such precedents, they made similarly liberal decisions in later cases.

The contemporary human rights approach inverts traditional notions of right and wrong and good and evil. Its main defect is that it lacks any concern about the character of the person seeking asylum, or resisting deportation. In ignoring the moral dimension, it departs from over two millennia of Western legal tradition.

The ideology of human rights can also be seen as the logical culmination of liberal internationalism; all that matters are abstract human rights, irrespective of the impact of these on the health of British society. For the liberal internationalists, there are no differences between people, whether good or bad, British or foreign. The differences in rights which attach to those who are members of the national community and those who are not must be reduced to insignificance. Not surprisingly, the use of the term 'alien' to describe all those who are not British subjects has simply died out.

There is nothing in the European Convention that suggests that it should be interpreted in this way. One of the leading draftsmen of the Convention in the wake of the Second World War was Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, who later became Conservative Home Secretary. He would have been shocked at the way it is now interpreted. These interpretations are the products of a liberal, non-judgmental, postmoral age. Perhaps every society gets the judges, and therefore the human rights, it deserves.

The Aliens Act was the product of a high-minded and fiercely patriotic age. It gave notice that the British people did not want Britain contaminated by the dregs of other countries. In 1905 Britain was the world's leading, and universally admired, nation. With the evolution of 'Londonistan' it has become an international laughing-stock. Lawyers have expressed doubts as to whether Britain can adequately safeguard her interests while remaining bound by the Convention. Repealing the Human Rights Act and withdrawing from the Convention is the only way Britain can regain her self-respect and security. Britain needs once again to be able to decide for herself who is an "undesirable immigrant".



Sir David Maxwell Fyfe (left) with US Justice Robert H Jackson at the Nuremberg Court House, Germany

Angela Ellis Jones is a contributing editor to *Right Now*

Chronicler of change and decay

Derek Turner interviews **Thomas Fleming**, editor of *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, one of America's leading cultural journals

"I entirely sympathize with modern neo-pagans and agnostics whose only acquaintance with the Christian faith has been Pat Robertson on television..."

Can you tell us a little about the history of *Chronicles* and the Rockford Institute?

Chronicles was founded in 1976 (the 200th year of America's founding) by Polish emigré novelist Leopold Tyrmand. LT had been working for the *New Yorker* but began to feel that he was no freer to criticize the USSR in New York than he had been in Warsaw, and he dreamed of having an anti-Leftist magazine that would be the opposite of the *Village Voice*. When his article, "The Ugly Beautiful People", appeared in the *American Scholar*, he was contacted by Dr John Howard, president of Rockford College (one of a handful of colleges that refused federal funding). Howard was starting the Rockford Institute and he thought Tyrmand would be a perfect person. LT said all he wanted was a magazine, and *Chronicles* (originally *Chronicles of Culture*) was born. *Chronicles* went from being quarterly to bi-monthly to monthly. Tyrmand's approach was to engage in a constant attack on the New York and Hollywood Left. Although he did attract a few original writers, mostly from the *Southern Partisan*, which I had created in 1980, and although LT was himself a bright and talented writer with many insights, there was no positive agenda and little understanding of the America that existed outside the enemy territory of New York, Washington and Los Angeles.

I came to Rockford as managing editor and designated successor in August 1984, and even before LT died in the following spring, I had initiated a complete make-over of the magazine. To symbolize the change we altered the title from *Chronicles of Culture* (an obvious echo of the emigré publication *Kultura*) to *Chronicles: a Magazine of American Culture*. If someone had asked me, in 1984, I would have described myself as a former university teacher of classics with a specialty in Greek tragedy and the technique of lyric poetry, a poet of no great accomplishment, a Christian convert (I had been brought up an atheist), an Aristotelian by philosophy and a Southerner by conviction (though I had lived in both the Midwest and South), and a conservative by virtue of the theory of a constant human nature that I was working out in my nearly completed *The Politics of Human Nature*, a work that shows the convergence of three traditional ways of looking at man: Christian, ancient pagan, and neo-Darwinist-sociobiological. Although I have since continued on my journey by going all the way to Rome, I have respect for the Orthodox and high Protestant traditions.

I have been told, rather frequently, that these traditions are incompatible. That, for example, a good Catholic must detest ancient pagans and reject all that science teaches or, contrariwise, that the pursuit of truth is incompatible with religious 'superstition'. I simply ask such people to prove it, and they never can. I dislike fanaticism and ideology. It is the one quality I have taken over from the Anglo-American tradition. I quite understand why serious ancient pagans were reluctant to give up a tradition that included a richness of ritual and a high intellectual theology (from Plato to Plotinus). I think one of the greatest wrong turns Christianity has ever taken was in the 18th Century,

when the attempt was made to reinvent the Church as a universalist ideology, the religious equivalent of the *Encyclopedia*. I entirely sympathize with modern neo-pagans and agnostics whose only acquaintance with the Christian faith has been Pat Robertson on television or the sort of simplistic Sunday school morality that is false to human experience. The greatest conservative writer in our common tradition was Samuel Johnson, a man painfully aware of human suffering and inhumanity but firmly committed to social order which, however imperfect, improves the possibility of leading a good life. That is, after all, the only important political question and the only foundation for political order: What is the nature of the good life and under what social and political circumstances is it likely to flourish? Everything else is just so much interior decoration.

How do *Chronicles* and the Rockford Institute differ from other American journals and 'think tanks'?

For one thing, we have always regarded ourselves as looking at fundamental questions first. Political questions – that is questions of elections and legislation – are secondary; that is, they reflect changes in culture, religion and the general assumptions in society. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. People talk a lot about 'restoring the constitution'. When they founded Liberia with former American slaves they adopted the US constitution, but I have to say that the history of Liberia has been rather different from that of the United States! A lot of it is to do with culture, broadly speaking. Social, moral and cultural questions take precedence over political questions.

We also don't believe that there is a political party or even movement in the US today that can be relied on to have a coherent point of view, to have sound policy or even to have decent people in its leadership. If there were a decent movement or party we might be more interested, but as it is we make friends with individuals rather than groups.

Can you define paleoconservatism and neo-conservatism for the benefit of UK readers?

There are two ways. First, in some people's minds paleoconservatism is what conservative used to mean before the neocons came into existence – an emphasis on tradition, the nation, our common history, small government, free enterprise; in other words, the Anglo-American conservative agenda of the mid 20th Century.

We have gone on from there, because we believe it is necessary to escape from liberalism entirely – not just the Leftism of Marx and his disciples but also the liberalism of John Stuart Mill, *et al.* We ask more fundamental questions about man's nature, which is both social and political and not merely individualistic. So we part company not just with the libertarians but also with the neocons.

Another fundamental difference is that we regard neoconservatives as charlatans and liars. There is not a single neocon thinker in the world today I take seriously. There are all sorts of people I regard as sincere and intelligent – but neocons are nothing but warmed-over social democrats.

Your conservatism cuts very deeply indeed. In one of your columns you talked about “the tyranny of a Leftist revolution that has been going on since at least 1500”. What are these elemental Leftist tendencies?

The elemental Leftist tendency is to oppose the civilized order, however represented, in every generation. In the 15th Century it was Christianity; in the 18th and 19th the aristocracy and the monarchy, all social distinctions, all distinctions of wealth. Then it was the free market which had to be eliminated. Today, social Leftism wants to eliminate the family and every semblance of sexual normality. In every generation, the target changes but the revolution rolls on, destroying everything that makes us sane and normal and healthy.

In my most recent book, I try to show that the principles of liberalism since the Renaissance are based on a basic misunderstanding of human nature. Humanism, universalism, individualism and objectivity are techniques of destruction. To teach someone that he has the same responsibility to starving children in Africa as to starving children in his own house is not only wicked and false but subversive of the social order. Primary relations are what matter. Parenthood is more important than your relations with all mankind.

Why are Anglo-Americans so non-ideological – and why is the conservative movement in both countries so ineffectual?

One aspect of the Anglo-American political tradition I like is a kind of commonsense, bluff insistence that one size does not necessarily fit all. But this goes too far and becomes a kind of contempt for principle. It is not Burke who is to me the most exemplary conservative, but Disraeli – who, if he ever had any principles, would have betrayed them the following day. It is this kind of shiftiness that had led American and British conservatives to abandon position after position.

In a column last year, you said that “if nothing is possible, then stay out of politics and pay more attention to your grandchildren and your church parish”. But however bad political parties are, don’t people like us need to be in there somewhere?

I put that as a hypothetical question. It hasn’t yet become that serious in either the US or the UK. Seneca once asked rhetorically of Cato’s shade why he had become involved in the power play between Caesar and Pompey, when it was just a question of choosing who would be tyrant. When that becomes the only political question – which it is becoming in America – then decent people should not waste their time. My recommendation is that where people think they can do good, either through a national party or through local politics, they should spend some of their time being involved, but not to be under the delusion that they are going to make things any better. In my lifetime, I have seen that in every decade the country is much, much worse, and it doesn’t matter which party rules. When the ‘conservatives’ are in office, they hasten the slide into barbarism and chaos.

***Chronicles* has been attacked as “unpatriotic” by neoconservatives for opposing US policy in the Balkans and, latterly, Iraq. What, exactly, are your grounds for disagreement with present policies?**



Thomas Fleming

Born 27 April 1945. Married, four children. President of the Rockford Institute. Editor, *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture* PhD in Classics, University of North Carolina, with a specialty in ancient Greek lyric poetry. Founding editor, *Southern Partisan* magazine; Co-editor, *New Right Papers* (1980) Publications: *The Conservative Movement* (1988), *The Politics of Human Nature* (1993) *Montenegro: The Divided Land* (2002), *The Morality of Everyday Life: Rediscovering an Ancient Alternative to the Liberal Tradition* (2004). Regular articles in other journals in the US and overseas, including the *Spectator*

I could sum up my objections to the administration by quoting a cliché which everyone in the administration uses – “we want to fight terrorism in Iraq rather than in the United States”. The truth is that we have porous northern and southern borders, and it is well known that Al Qaeda agents are coming across. Yet we are refusing to do anything about this threat. Instead, by going to Iraq and fighting a war we can never win – in the sense of imposing our will in the long run – we have done nothing but stir up terrorism against the US and our allies. Knowing we were going to war, we produced a special issue in which we painstakingly went over the history of Iraq, why it was impossible to establish democracy there, why overthrowing Saddam would immediately impact the only people there who are pro-Western – the Iraqi Christians, who are now being ethnically cleansed with the help of US troops. It is an absolute shambles.

Official US policy is to keep Iraq together while decentralizing it. Yet we have empowered the Shiites and the Kurds – the two most anti-Western groups in the country – and so demonized the Sunnis that they almost to a man hate our guts. There is no possible positive outcome. What we did so courageously in Vietnam was to declare victory and leave, and let all our friends and allies get slaughtered – and I fear that’s what we’ll do here. We’ll have to pull out

Continued overleaf ➤

sometime, and when we do everyone who depends on the United States will wind up dead.

What would be your fantasy policy programme in relation to Islam?

We should disestablish the Islamic governments we have imposed in the Balkans, restore Christian areas to Christian control and compel the Albanian drug lords of Kosovo to rebuild the hundreds of churches they have destroyed. We should refuse to allow more Muslims into the US, begin a humane process of repatriation and encourage our allies in France, Germany, Britain, and Canada to pursue similar policies. We should give up the delusion that we can impose democracy on Iraq, and quit pretending the governments of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are our friends. We should impose (I use the word advisedly) a fair settlement on the Israelis and Palestinians and provide the muscle to enforce it.

What should be done about Iran?

Iran has probably the most unreliable and dishonest political class in the world today, so it is very difficult to know when they are lying. On the other hand, it is perfectly understandable why the Iranians don't trust the United States. Countries with nuclear weapons feel they are in a position to defend themselves against US aggression and US-sponsored aggression, such as the Indians have experienced at the hands of Pakistan for many years. With the constant threat of invasion by the US, one can see why the Iranians would have a natural interest in self-protection. Today's nuclear proliferation comes largely from a fear of US invasion. One should be very tough with countries like Iran, Iraq and Syria – but terrorising the world into believing that no-one is safe if they fall afoul of the US government is a very dangerous lesson to teach.

In *The Morality of Everyday Life*, you call for a return to a pre-modern ethic of loyalty to one's family, community and civilization rather than abstract ideals. How can everyday morality be restored when people no longer believe in divine retribution?

There's more superstition today than there was in the 13th Century. There's more crystal ball gazing, more astrology, more worry about bad *karma* and bad *juju*. Morality never depended as much on fear of divine retribution as on fear of social stigma. I don't think loss of belief in divine retribution explains why towns in Britain were safer 100 years ago than they are now – because Britain wasn't all that pious in the Victorian age. It had to do with normative traditions and customs that everybody shared. All these traditions and customs have been systematically destroyed in the West by the attacks on religious faith and religious morality – which morality incidentally was more or less shared by the ancient Greeks and Romans. The media and government schooling have induced a state of moral chaos in which people feel that writing out a cheque to some pop concert is going to achieve moral results, while being pleasant and helpful within their own communities is unimportant.

Moral discipline cannot be restored by any government *fiat* or political movement. In the US, people are opting out in very large numbers from the official cultural system. Here one of the largest and fastest growing movements is the home schooling movement. This is not just a question of teaching children at home, but of forming new schools. All

sorts of religious and moral communities are being formed that are independent of the official system. These places are where hope comes from.

In some of your essays, you use a mixture of pagan, Christian and natural ethics to buttress your arguments. *Chronicles* has also featured articles by writers like E O Wilson. Yet you are distrustful of some aspects of sociobiology. Why?

The problem with having a purely scientific approach to ethical and political questions is simply that it goes too far. Science can help us to discover what we're really like as living creatures, but it can't help us with questions like "why does the universe exist?", or "why does man have consciousness?" These are profound questions that people like Richard Dawkins think they have answers to, because they are philosophically naïve – more naïve than was an 11th century Hungarian peasant. I would like to see a sensible discussion amongst atheist Darwinists whose work I respect – people like Edward O Wilson. But they have to develop a little humility. As for Christians and theologians, they have to give up their glib generalisations and their constant silly attacks on Darwinism and science.

What do you think of the "genetic similarity theory" being espoused by sociobiologists like J P Rushton?

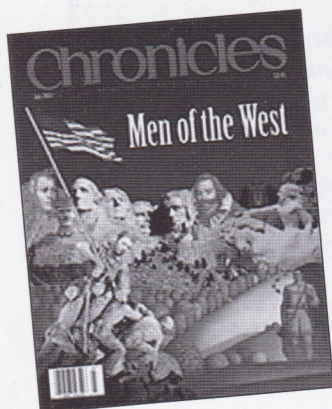
E O Wilson had an excellent argument which he called "the gene-culture feedback loop". Certain societies by luck have people with certain capacities, and they become powerful. The society goes on for century after century, with the elite class which sets the tone for that society dominated by a certain ethos. The culture eventually influences the genetic pool, because the people who are most successful have the most offspring, and vice versa. After 1,000 years, you have a people with a unique set of predispositions, cultural and moral attitudes, so that even peoples who are genetically very close – say the East Franks and the West Franks (today's Germans and French) – diverge sufficiently so that by 1600 you could tell the difference between a Frenchman and a German. When you get into larger groups – like Europeans and Chinese – this is even more marked.

What event or events made you first take an interest in politics and culture?

I grew up thinking of myself as a Leftist, because I felt the world had gone terribly wrong, and the only critique of the world going wrong came from the Left. After talking to Leftists at graduate school, I then realised that I had more ancient and medieval views which had very little to do with the Marxist philosophies that were coming down the pike.

The two things that were most influential were, first, becoming a student of the classics, which presents an alternate universe. The Greeks and Romans were simply not like us, and Greek literature and history has a brilliance and clarity which allow you to see through a lot of the shabbiness and dishonesty of our day.

The second major influence was moving to the traditional South, living in Charleston and then a small town. This gave me an insight into the mechanisms of how true communities function. I knew that what I was observing corresponded to things that Aristotle and Cicero understood, but nothing that John Stuart Mill or Karl Marx understood.



***Chronicles:* A Magazine of American Culture**

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We are constantly be told by 'experts' that global warming is upon us and that in order to avert catastrophe, we must modify our behaviour in various ways, all of which involve self-denial and unpleasant consequences. Even worse, if we do not Repent and Come to Jesus – sorry, got a bit carried away there, it's the Messianic fervour that was getting to me – I mean if we do not mend our ways, the consequences of our selfishness will be even more dire. Whilst not denying that this very well might be the case, as an old and weary cynic, I mutter *sotto voce* to myself "Cui bono?" I remain utterly unconvinced of the disinterestedness of those who are doing the shouting.

Global warming is being pushed as an incontrovertible fact, and a bad fact at that. No-one has a good word to say for it. Another universally accepted truth (unless you live in Alabama) is Darwin's Theory of Evolution. It is one of those things that everyone just knows to be right, without having even to think about it, but Darwin's theory has never actually been proved to be true. I rather suspect that Darwin did in fact get it more or less right but, nevertheless, no-one has ever actually proved him to be right. Likewise, in some areas of measurement, there is solid evidence that the world is now a warmer place than it was a hundred years ago, but that doesn't justify worldwide hysteria. And in any case, even if the world is getting warmer, is that necessarily a bad thing?

It seems to me that the temperature of the earth has always fluctuated and it has been getting warmer and colder for centuries. In the 17th Century, they used to roast whole oxen on fires lit on the ice covering the river Thames at London. Can you remember the last Frost Fair, or even the last time that the Thames froze from bank to bank? No, neither can I, so the world must be getting warmer, but it doesn't seem to have done us much harm. In the 19th Century, when our collective subconscious formed its notions of the 'traditional' Christmas, it was still pretty damned cold, as is witnessed by all those Christmas cards with skaters and holly and snow-drifts and what-not. So the world *must* be getting warmer. QED, one might say, but before getting too excited, let us turn to the Greenland Question.

Greenland is the biggest island in the world, nominally part of Denmark, but virtually uninhabited and moreover largely uninhabitable. But it wasn't always so. When you come to think about it, Greenland is a pretty weird name for anyone to give to a country that is now 99% glacier or barren rock and 1% lichens. Not the sort of name that springs to mind for such a grey, treeless and windswept place, is it?

But wait. A thousand years ago, Greenland was settled by the Vikings, who prospered, and grew wheat and flax there, and it was at that time that it received its name. It was, 1,000 years ago, genuinely a green land. At about the same time, monks in Yorkshire were tending their vines. If the Vikings could grow wheat in Greenland, and monks in Yorkshire could grow grapes, it was pretty certain that those two spots did not enjoy the same climatic blessings as they do today. Since wheat growing in Greenland is now impossible and grape growing in Yorkshire would be a distinctly unprofitable occupation, I would incline to the view that we could have a good deal more global warming without coming to too much harm. If it was fine for the world to be that warm then, what's the problem with it being quite a good bit colder now, even if the temperature is going up?

The Greenland question

Robert Kemp says that the only new thing about climate change is our hysterical reaction to it

It should not be forgotten that these terrible doomsday scenarios are being peddled by those who have a vested interest in our believing them. Whether they are true or not is immaterial; it is whether we will swallow them which is important. Those who propagate the global-warming-equals-catastrophe thesis are scientists, and other pseudo-scientific hangers-on; Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, Hampstead Balaclava Knitters for Worldwide Solidarity and so on, but they are first and foremost human beings, with the ordinary worries about ordinary life. Just like the rest of us, they want bigger and newer cars; they want more frequent and more exotic holidays; they want bigger houses; they want to be able to send their children to private schools and so on. Their ordinary life depends upon there being a pay-check every month, and the pay-check depends on there being a crisis. No Global Warming Crisis, and instead you have a domestic balance of payments crisis, consequent upon being fired by your lab.

No-one is going to cough up research grants to a laboratory which comes up with the notion that "It's alright, chaps, nothing to fret about, just a minor blip well within the earth's natural variation; just relax and pour another G&T." Not many new Volvos in that kind of report, but plenty of P45s. Far be it from me to suggest that the scientists involved are corrupt, or self-serving, but they are hardly disinterested observers either and their findings should be viewed with scepticism. Thousands of jobs worldwide are dependent upon the menace of global warming, and these people aren't going to roll over and join the dole queue without a fight. For them, global warming *has* to be right; the mortgage payments depend upon it.

I remember 30 or 40 years ago the boffins were predicting that the next ice-age would shortly be upon us, with the Channel clogged, not by ferries and container ships, but by icebergs. The oil would have all been used up by 1990 and we should go to work on an egg, as it was good for us. Oh yeah? The wallies who made all those alarming and totally wrong predictions are either now dead, or safely enjoying an index-linked retirement, in their egg-free, oil-fired homes, with nary even an ice-floe in sight, let alone a proper full-size 'berg to scare them. Will one of the survivors kindly explain why we haven't all died of salmonella poisoning or frozen to death in our unheated houses? If they could be that wrong then, why should we believe that the next generation of so-called experts is any better at getting it right?

When a scientist can convince me that it was fine for it to be warm enough to grow wheat in Greenland a thousand years ago, but that to move back to the same climate would be a catastrophe now, then I might start to get worried. Till then, while we wait for some real scientists to do some proper research, pass me another G&T, there's a good fellow. □



Ancient Greenland parchment depicts Vikings debating with native Skraelings over who has first use of the sun-loungers...

Robert Kemp is an agricultural machinery broker living in France

Prophet of a 'patriot king'

Derek Turner interviews **Andrew Fraser**, the legal academic at the centre of a massive Australian race controversy

Back in June, you unleashed a racial fire-storm above your own head by writing a letter to an Australian newspaper. Can you summarise the story for UK readers?

In late June, the *Parramatta Sun* [a Sydney newspaper] ran a story with a headline "Now my mum and dad are Aussies, just like me", accompanied by a photograph of a little Sudanese girl of three years old. On top of a whole lot of other things that have been going on in immigration policy, this tipped me over the edge. The story filled me with a sense of cognitive dissonance – was this little girl *really* an Aussie?

I wrote a letter to the *Sun* saying, *inter alia* "Experience practically everywhere in the world tells us that an expanding black population is a sure-fire recipe for increases in crime, violence and a wide range of other social problems", and that we were being expected to acquiesce in the complete erosion of Australia's national identity. A country that was built by Anglo-Celtic pioneers – and of course convicts! – is now being reduced to a kind of geographical expression, where Australian identity is defined by the state.

As soon as the *Sun* discovered that I was an academic, this was the classic 'Man bites dog' story. Who ever heard of an academic sticking up for the White Australia Policy? They really went to town. Not only did they publish my letter, but they ran a full front page headline, saying "Keep them out", and so forth.

This sparked a media frenzy during which not a single influential person stood up to defend my arguments, although some well-known people did defend my right to free speech. Yet a phone poll (which had 35,000 callers) conducted by Channel 9's *A Current Affair* showed that 85% of the audience agreed with my stand.

Initially, Macquarie [Editor's Note: Prof Fraser's university, in Sydney] said "Well, we wish he wouldn't say these things, but after all he's got a right to do so, as long as he doesn't pretend to be speaking for the university". Then, in early July, Vice Chancellor Di Yerbury took it upon herself to apologise on behalf of the university to the Sudanese community, and they tried to buy out my contract. I was told essentially that the university was a business, with a business plan oriented to attracting foreign students, and the controversy over my comments was impacting adversely on their attempt to get into that market. I decided not to accept because they were refusing to extend to me the status of honorary associate – effectively offering me a dishonourable discharge. When I refused, they suspended me from teaching, on "security" grounds.

Then I was invited to submit an article to the *Deakin University Law Review*. My article, "Rethinking the White Australia Policy" was peer-reviewed and accepted for publication. Then, on 19th September, after calls from journalists and a lawyer acting on behalf of the 'Sudanese community', Deakin University's Vice-Chancellor and President caved in, and wrote to me saying that "I have directed those responsible for the *Deakin Law Review* not to publish your article",

on the grounds that it "would contravene the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 and, arguably, state and territory racial and religious vilification legislation".¹

When I taught at Macquarie in the 1970s there was an effort to stop visiting psychologist Hans Eysenck from talking about race and IQ, but in those days the protest came from the students, not the administrators.

The Howard government is widely thought of as being 'tough' on immigration. Is this really true?

It certainly takes a tough official line on illegal immigration. It won the 2001 election largely on the strength of its hard stated line on the MV *Tampa* incident.² Yet most of the people who came on that ship are now living here. And there is pressure from many people – including some of Howard's own backbench MPs, the 'conservative' Family First Party, Anglican bishops and the overwhelming majority of my academic colleagues – to ease asylum laws yet further. Meanwhile, the levels of legal immigration are now up into the 133,000 range – higher than during the Keating era.³

An earlier non-PC view of the White Australia Policy was famously authored by Keith Windschuttle (*The White Australia Policy*, Macleay Press, Sydney, 2004). Where do you part company with his analysis?

I disagree with his bloodless, deracinated, abstract, constitutional patriotism, and his refusal to take seriously the reality of racial differences. He insists that race is just a social construct – and this is someone who claims to have broken with the Left. It seems to me that he is still really on their side.

Keith Windschuttle says in turn that you are "really a very old-fashioned Leftist", and "a long-time" Marxist, and that your ideas are a logical outcropping of the philosophy of multiculturalism. I note that in your time you have written for both the *Socialist Review* and *Telos*. Please tell us a little about your political history and past connections, and what impelled you eventually to break with Marxism.

It's true that I was a boy Marxist as a student and tyro academic. I was also very interested in critical legal studies when it first got rolling in the late 1970s. But I was pretty much cured of both by doing a Master's at Harvard Law School in 1981-2 where I got very sick indeed of the Leftist cant around race and feminism.

The stuff I published back then in *Telos* was indicative of that journal's own increasing recognition that the traditional Left-Right categories no longer make much sense. That is, I believe, even more obvious now.

Since the early 1980s my scholarly research and writing has sought to adapt the political theory of classical or civic republicanism to the modern world.

You have said that civic patriotism is essentially "maladaptive". But aren't such attempts at least a step in the right direction?

I am very sympathetic to the traditions of civic patriotism and classical republicanism, but it has become increasingly plain to me over the last few years that the only people who really believe that a nation can be constructed out of what Roger Scruton calls "a society of strangers" are the peoples stemming from

NOTES

1. The censored article may be found at: www.vdare.com/misc/050926_fraser.htm

2. Hundreds of 'refugees', many Afghani, arrived aboard the MV *Tampa* off the north Australian coast expecting to be given admission – even throwing their children into the water, so that they would be picked up by the Australian Navy

3. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (www.abs.gov.au), the population of Australia is just under 20.5m, with a new migrant arriving every four minutes and 11 seconds. The government does not keep statistics by race or ethnicity, so the only way of getting an idea of the effects of immigration is to examine whether residents were born overseas, and the language spoken at home. To take a 2001 census snapshot of New South Wales, the area most affected by immigration, 70.5% of respondents were Australian-born. The figures for 1991 and 1996 were, respectively, 75.1% and 73.3%. (1.9% of Australian-born respondents identified themselves as being of aboriginal origin.) The ancestries "most commonly identified with" were Australian 35.3%, English 31.2% and Irish 9.9% – a total of 75.4% of essentially Anglo-Celtic Australians. New South Wales also has Arab and Italian origin minorities (around 2% in each case). In 1991, 80.3% of New South Wales residents spoke English exclusively at home; in 1996, it was 78.8%, in 2001, 75.7%.

northwestern Europe, especially England. Anglo-Celtic derived people tend to live in open societies, and to forget that the people they are inviting in don't always operate by the same rules. Anglos are accordingly always very vulnerable to competition from tightly-organised, ethnocentric, non-European peoples.

In your Deakin paper, you noted "In early twentieth century Australia, the most sympathetic audience for racial nationalism was found among the bohemian writers, artists and intellectuals of the Leftist intelligentsia" – people, for instance, like Henry Lawson. Why are so many modern Leftists so antipathetic to their own people?

That's the \$64,000 question, I suppose. I am sympathetic to the answer suggested by writers like James Burnham and Sam Francis – that there has been a kind of managerial revolution, with a new managerial-professional class whose power and privileges are based on educational credentials, and who have become detached from their own people.

In a recent issue of *The Occidental Quarterly*, you echoed the 18th Century Tory statesman Viscount Bolingbroke, by calling for the advent of a "patriot king" to save not only the Australians, but the entire Anglosphere. Please sum up your arguments. Might Charles III approximate to a patriot king?

At its most abstract level, this argument is about the difference between action and behaviour. Bolingbroke realized, in a dim sort of way, that the world was changing, and that there was a new kind of system emerging, with people expected more and more to conform to established rules, and to abstain from independent action. He saw this as a kind of corruption, and hoped that someone would act to restore the ancient British constitution. The chief principle of that constitution is liberty – the idea that you should have a free society of autonomous, self-governing institutions – whether households, parishes, or corporate bodies politic – a stateless society, in that classic English way. He tried to appeal first to the people, then to the aristocracy – then, in desperation, came up with the concept of the 'patriot king'. My idea in reviving his concept is that, more than ever, we need someone to act to restore our ancient constitution and our people – and, in our case, the monarch is the symbolic leader of all of our people. Such vague hopes were dealt a blow by the Queen's disgusting Christmas speech of last year.

What really started me thinking about all this was the referendum on the republic we had over here. I kept wondering, "Why is the Queen not entering into this debate? Wouldn't it change the whole nature of the proceedings if she – or Prince Charles, or Prince William – came out swinging and said to the Australian people, 'Don't do it! You're part of the British diaspora. Remember who you are and where you came from'".

Prince Charles's 'defender of faiths' effusion does make one feel a little sick. But Hannah Arendt also talks a lot about the miraculous nature of action. There is something miraculous about it, and maybe he will see the light as Charles III! As Bolingbroke said, it will be a miracle if such a person appears, but let's hold ourselves ready and able to receive him if he does – and failing such an appearance, let's try and act ourselves.



Andrew Fraser

Born St Catharines, Ontario, 1943
Two children
Associate professor in the Department of Public Law, Macquarie University, Sydney

Publications:
Reinventing Aristocracy: The Constitutional Reformation of Corporate Governance (1998)

The Spirit of the Laws: Republicanism and the Unfinished Project of Modernity (1990)

Articles in many journals, including *Journal of Law & Society*, *Review of Constitutional Studies*, *Occidental Quarterly*, *American Renaissance*, *Socialist Review* and *Telos* (associate editor 1985-1992)

We should never underestimate the galvanising effects of action – even if it is just the action of an obscure academic living in Parramatta writing to a suburban newspaper, which has led to all kinds of unpredictable and highly improbable consequences!

Do you detect signs of a revival of Anglo-Saxon consciousness, or the beginnings of a meaningful political reaction? To borrow from Bolingbroke: "Where are the men of business that will live and draw together?"

There are lots of people breaking cover, and lots of people working away in the trenches – people like Rushton, and Jensen, and Peter Brimelow, and you. We're a lot further along now than we were ten years ago. Even I am further along. About ten years ago, I had a sort of foggy notion about what the problem was, but it was nothing compared to the understanding I have today as a consequence of what many people have been doing out there.

On one level, it's easy to be upbeat in Australia. In terms of a revival of an Anglo-Celtic consciousness, clearly Australia is streets ahead even of Britain. The One Nation experience demonstrated that clearly. A *fortiori* this reinforces my point about the mystical nature of action – it emerged out of nowhere, levitated for a while and disappeared into nothing. Even in that brief efflorescence of patriotic feeling, it got 10% of the vote – one million votes – in 1998. There is enormous scope here for a kind of renaissance of British folk feeling – probably partly because we're stuck out here in the South Pacific next door to Asia, where we do get to feel isolated.

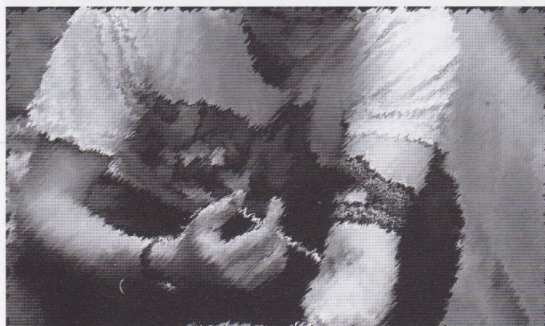
When you talk to ordinary people, Australia is really divided between the cosmopolitan, middle class, educated people and what some people call "the parochial masses", who really hanker after the revival of the White Australia Policy.

Sex and drugs and liberty

Ezra Mishan says that different degrees of permissiveness should apply to drugs and pornography

Although I go along with Mr. Dutton's article (*RN*, issue 52) in so far as it affirms the libertarian principle that no opinion be excluded expression (provided the language used is seemly) — including allegations of holocaust denial or of the injury caused by any racial minority — I am more cautious when it comes to application of the other libertarian principle; that a man be free to act as he chooses provided his action does not materially injure others. In this latter respect Mr Dutton's article does not go far enough and, on the other hand, goes too far for a good conservative.

It does not go far enough in as much as it fails to present the libertarian case for freedom of the individual to use any drug he pleases, whether deemed harmful to him or not. Indeed, in view of the considerations touched on below, more open debate on the decriminalisation of narcotic and psychedelic drugs is long overdue.



A fundamental libertarian principle is that a man be free to act as he chooses, provided his action does not materially injure others – does this apply to drug taking?

First, it should be evident that the case for legalising such drugs is at least as strong as that for legalising the sale of alcoholic drinks — for removing the prohibition laws in the US in 1933. It should be yet more evident that the enormous wealth and power of the drug barons — their power to corrupt the police, the judiciary, local politicians, enforcement agents, to intimidate the citizenry, and to finance and support international terrorism — is the singular creation of Western governments. For it is their continued prohibition that has so levered up drug prices as not only to enrich the drug barons but also to support scores of thousands of drug dealers in each country.

Among the greatest beneficiaries of drug criminalisation are, not surprisingly, the personnel in the enforcement agencies whose emoluments and status depend directly on their success in persuading the government and the population at large of the fearful damage wrought by such drugs. Clearly, decriminalisation of such drugs would pull the rug from under the feet of the drug barons, but also from under the feet of the personnel of the powerful enforcement bureaucracy.

Secondly, whatever the harmful effect suffered by those individuals who themselves choose to use narcotic or other drugs, the true conservative or libertarian would sanction government action only to the extent of disseminating accurate information. In this connection, it is to be borne in mind that a great part of the injury to the health of narcotic addicts, perhaps the greater part, is the consequence itself of their criminalisation. For once drugs are legalised, the

common practice of blending narcotics with a variety of noxious substances would cease. As with alcoholic drinks, once legalised the government is able to enforce minimum standards of purity in all such drugs.

Be that as it may, the principle to be supported by liberal or conservative is that a person be free to undertake any activity he chooses, even one entailing some degree of risk to his person — whether it be mountain climbing, bungee jumping, or ingesting narcotics in as much as he himself is to be regarded as fully responsible for his own actions. Modification of this principle can be justified only in so far as a person's action results in material injury to others.

It is to be noted, however, that economists have directed their expertise to determining the incidence of such 'third-party' effects — along with estimates of the increase in demand for heroin and cocaine following a precipitate decline in their prices. As indicated in a recent article of mine (*Journal of Economic Affairs*, 2001) the proportion of violence that is directly attributable to these drugs, the so-called psychopharmacological effects, is small (considerably smaller than that for alcohol). By far the greater proportion of violence and petty crime arises from the limited cash available to most addicts. Once narcotics were legalised, their market prices would fall by over 90 percent. In consequence, the 'economic-compulsive' violence would tend to disappear — the more rapidly if, initially, narcotics were provided free to the more indigent addicts through appointed medical agencies.

Thirdly, as shown both in the above-mentioned article and an earlier one (*Political Quarterly*, 1990), the costs of maintaining drug-criminalisation — without, however, its being able to reduce the growth in their consumption — is quite staggering. They include not only the murder of countless politicians, judges, journalists, policemen, and soldiers, but also the social costs of so much real crime that could in fact be eliminated in Western countries were not so large a proportion of their police resources deflected into futile endeavours to combatting 'artificial' or-government-created crime.

FAMILY VALUES

Let us turn now to Mr. Dutton's deploring of the warnings about media entertainment, warnings about sex and violence. In so far as a conservative seeks to encourage family values, good citizenship, and those institutions that promote social harmony, he cannot also approve of the media-sponsored growth, since the Sixties, of scenes of sexual titillation, of pornography, and of sadistic violence, by reference to libertarian principles. No justification for such public entertainment can be found in John Stuart Mill or in the writings of other enlightened Nineteenth century reformers. Such an issue could not even arise during a period in which there existed an unquestioned consensus against the public display of pornographic entertainment — which had therefore to be driven 'underground.'

There are, of course, the facile arguments of the post-modern liberated cognoscenti, which include the contention that repeated scenes of intimate sexual

performances – whether heterosexual, homosexual, paedophilic, animalistic – can do no harm and, indeed, are liberating in as much as no area of human experience should be closed to creative writers and artists. Yet if writing and the visual arts is also about selection, then not everything that people do may qualify as art. Certainly the great classical novels, British, French, or Russian, which continue to fascinate and to move us deeply, were created without recourse to scenes of sexual intimacies.

COLLECTIVE CHOICE

Again the allegation that the dissemination among the populace of carnal pasticcios and pornographic or salacious matter in today's novels, magazines, and films, can hardly be deemed offensive since, in any case, no one is obliged to read, or look, is disingenuous. For it is not so much a matter of individual choice as a collective choice about the sort of society we want to live in. Is commercially promoted sex-saturation an ingredient of the good life?

Thus, before countenancing this feature of the 'New Permissiveness' a conservative would surely be concerned about its impact on family life; also about its repercussions on the character and the behaviour of the community.

May we suppose that a child's awareness of his parents' addiction to pornographic entertainment will not affect his regard for them, or his notions of propriety? May we also suppose that adults in general have all attained that degree of 'maturity' that their scanning television channels or the internet for breath-taking visions of cornucopian carnality is without effect on their minds or actions? How often do we read of weak-minded or neurotic voyeurs who cannot always distinguish between fact and fantasy, or how, when their cravings are so inflamed by licentious or sadistic scenes, they seek relief in sexual molestation or rape?

Yet more generally, granted that what, in a more urbane and civilised society, would be thought of as obscene, scurrilous, or sadistic, has today become so common a feature of our entertainment and discourse as to be considered by the multitude as normal, or at any rate acceptable, can there be any one so foolish as to believe that such a conception of propriety does not alter the character, the language, and the behaviour of the young – and alter it for the worse?

It is, by the way, of interest to note, in this connection, that just as the abduction from the English language of the adjective 'gay' has succeeded in imparting a gloss to homosexual activity, so also does the inept euphemism 'adult' to voyeurist propensities, conferring on them a sanction where, in fact, 'arrested adolescence' would be a more accurate description.

Finally, what Englishman who is proud of his country can today view with equanimity the sight of his countrymen in a long queue impatient to enter a cinema that wantonly advertises a steamy X-rated film?

And if, over time, we habituate ourselves to shamelessness in such matters – or even to extol it as 'cool', as a victory over out-dated inhibitions, a triumph of open-ness – is it reasonable to believe it just stops there: that such shamelessness will have no repercussions on the integrity or morality of a people? Is it not likely that such shamelessness in the presence of arrant sexploitation, sadistic savagery and foul language, on our screens will not percolate into other aspects of our character, our conduct, our manners? Is

there not evidence enough today that ordinary speech is becoming vulgarised, our manners coarsened, our sensibilities blunted?

Our good conservative should be wondering whether, if such tendencies continue, they will not, act gradually to erode that overlaying membrane of cultivated civility which makes our commerce with others less abrasive and more agreeable. □

Ezra Mishan is a former professor of economics at the London School of Economics, and the author of many books

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The real problem with Iraq

C B Liddell says that the Western desire to see a united, multicultural Iraq is fundamentally misguided

Call me naïve, but when Iraq fell to invasion of 2003, I thought the simplest solution to the problem posed by this country would also be the one most acceptable to the Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds – namely a messy but cathartic divorce that would allow each of the groups to achieve separate nationhood and with it internal integrity and security. The south and east of Iraq is overwhelmingly Shiite in population, while Sunnis are prevalent in the centre and west, with the Kurds already semi-independent in the north. Given the centuries of bad blood between these groups, exacerbated over the last few decades by the Baathist regime, it seemed a Sisyphean labour to try and force these three distinct groups to live together harmoniously.

The commonsense and, indeed, moral approach would have been to appoint a boundary commission to draw up appropriate borders, and then use the inevitably limited period of military occupation to separate Iraq peacefully into three new nations, and safely relocate those caught on the wrong side of the new national borders. Preventing conflict would have been enormously simplified. Instead of dealing with intermixed and mutually hostile populations the US and its allies would only have had to deal with three parties. If one of the new nations decided to overstep the new boundaries, the full weight of allied diplomatic, economic, and air power could be exerted to maintain the new status quo. In the heady days following the collapse of Saddam's regime, this all seemed possible.

Instead, two years later, the lives of over 1,000 US and British troops have been wasted needlessly, endeavouring to maintain one unstable state containing three separate nations at each others' throats. There have been enough deaths by terrorism in Iraq to make September 11 look trivial by comparison. Only the temporary presence of massive allied forces prevents a bloodbath. How did we manage to get it all so wrong?

Geopolitical sophists will point to the 'impossibility' of dividing Iraq into three countries in the context of the wider Middle East. They point to the fact that Turkey opposes any independence anywhere for any group of Kurds because this might ultimately embolden the Kurdish majority in its own southeastern provinces to break away. This point assumes that Turkish interests somehow override those of all other nations involved. The fact is that, in the post-Cold War world, the Western powers have almost no need to pander to Turkey's obsession with the Kurds.

The other idea invariably used to dismiss division of the country along ethnic lines is that the creation of a purely Shiite state in the south of Iraq would create a natural ally for Iran and alienate the large reserves of oil there from US commercial control. The policy of maintaining Iraqi unity is cast as a cunning piece of *realpolitik* designed to serve national interests as well as those of the big oil companies which, we are told – with a knowing wink – financially support Bush.

This argument would perhaps be true if the US and its allies were willing to maintain a military presence in Iraq indefinitely. But sooner or later we will pull out anyway. In the chaos that is certain to follow, the Shiites, with 60% of the population and strong support in neighboring Iran, are likely to at least gain control over

their own ethnic, oil-rich area, and quite possibly the rest of the country as well. Dividing the country would at least prevent the possibility of the considerable oil reserves around Kirkuk and other parts of the country falling into the hands of a hostile Shiite state.

Also, the US policy of preferring Sunni Islam to the Shiite version is a case of six of one and half a dozen of another. From the 1950s to 1979, the US's staunchest ally in the Muslim world was Shiite Iran, ruled by its Shah – whereas Al Qaeda and the Wahhabism from which it sprang (and which continues to flourish in Saudi Arabia) are both from the Sunni side of the street. The assumption that Sunni Islamic states are *per se* more friendly to the US is highly dubious.

What, then, drives the West's support for an ultimately-doomed 'united democratic' Iraq? If we dismiss those who actually believe that democracy imported in a State Department carpet bag can transcend race, religion, and centuries of strife, there seem to be two ideas feeding into this lamentable policy.

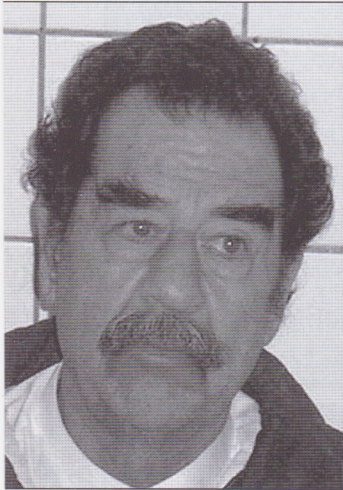
Realistic US and British policy makers may be hoping that, out of the chaotic democratic experiment they are enforcing, a secular-minded strongman will arise who will impose unity on the divided country and do business with the West, while paying lip service to democracy – in other words, another version of Saddam Hussein *circa* 1980. Such a figure would allow us to pull out, proclaiming 'mission accomplished'; and, as Iraq slipped beneath the media's radar, the strong arm tactics needed to keep such a naturally divided country united wouldn't overly embarrass Western governments.

Another factor feeding the West's Iraq policy, however, is more troubling. This is the idea, now enshrined in the culture, society, and politics of both America and Britain, that multiculturalism and diversity within a single state is an absolute moral good in itself, a belief that is held ironically with scant regard for local cultures and histories in other parts of the world.

In other words, we are projecting our own multicultural experiment onto an area that has a completely different history and makeup, and with none of the ameliorating factors that make multiculturalism in the West temporarily feasible – affluence, welfare provision for disaffected minorities, the rule of law, weakening ties to locale, and the ability of most people to choose their neighbours by relocation (sometimes referred to as 'white flight'). These factors are noticeably absent from Iraq, as are the incessant flow in the media of a multicultural message of tolerance, and a main religion – Christianity – that is essentially pacifist.

The drive to force Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds to live and love together is nothing less than an extension of our own domestic attempts in the last 40 years to force blacks, whites, Asians and Hispanics to live together in multiracial harmony. Our ill-fated efforts to get Kurds sitting round the table with the Sunnis who gassed them and the Shiites who have called down a *jihad* on both their houses, is, in effect, nothing more than an extension of integrationist measures, like the busing programmes introduced to achieve 'racial balance' in US schools, or our own attempts to fill the Metropolitan police with ethnic minorities, regardless of ability.

The problem facing Iraq is not the tribal antipathies of its different groups and the conflict this engenders. Left to itself, such conflict would ultimately resolve itself in new boundaries and eventually new nations. The real problem is that admitting the legitimate differences and right to self-determination of these distinct ethnic and religious groups threatens the West's religion of multiculturalism. □



WANTED by Bush & Blair

A strong, resolute leader to run a united Iraq. He must be experienced in thwarting the goals of often-violent separatist groups, that would split Iraq in three. He should be a moderate Muslim, at the opposite end of the religious spectrum from *Al Qaida*. He should be currently unemployed and keen to assume the role of Iraqi President....

CB Liddell is a journalist and teacher based in Japan, who writes for several well-known Asian publications

While Saddam Hussein is being tried by the victors in Baghdad, 'Prince' Johnson is running for the senate in Liberia. The last time Prince was in power he ordered his men to cut off the ears of Samuel Doe, hoping the then president would reveal his Swiss bank account. Johnson also drank Cool Aid while Doe was being tortured to death in front of him. There was also a video which made the rounds. Nice guy, Johnson, almost as nice as Charles Taylor, who followed Johnson as president, murdered tens of thousands, began wars against his neighbours, stole hundreds of millions, and is now living in luxury in Nigeria, protected by the government of the richest nation in Africa.

What I'd like to know is why Saddam is in the dock while those African murderers are walking around rich and free? Well, I'll tell you why. Purely because of their colour. No one dares touch black African criminals like Mugabe, Taylor, Johnson, even Idi Amin, who until he croaked was given asylum by his fellow thieves in Saudi Arabia. The irony of course is that Saddam was among the few able to run Iraq as one country. It will now break up quicker than you can say Kurdistan. The Kurds will form an independent state, which I'm all for, as will the Shiites. Which means we went to war in order to undo what the British had created back in 1920, and to put in the dock a man no better nor worse than many Arab and African leaders. Go figure, as they say in Brooklyn.

I was recently in Spain and had a wonderful time in Madrid among civilised people whose manners and dignity were a pleasure to behold. In the 16th Century, Spain was the most powerful country in Europe, with her vast empire in Latin America and her possessions in the Netherlands and Italy. It's been downhill ever since, alas. Still, Spanish is a world language spoken in many countries and the Spaniards have their descendants all over the world. But here's the bad part. Within a generation, a quarter of the children in Spain will be Muslims, and Spain will one day be joining the Arab world. The memory of the Arab conquest of Spain – except for the Asturias in the far north – does not help matters.

The reasons, needless to say, are weak governments, corruption and the EU. Let me explain: with the collapse of the Spanish birthrate, Spain is content to rely on the replacement of her own people by Muslim immigrants. Instead of seeking immigrants from Latin America who would be more than eager to work and live in Spain, successive governments have turned a blind eye to illegal Muslims from Morocco, a long swim away from Spanish shores. Moroccans provide cheap labour for the farming and building industries. The agricultural protectionism of the EU prevents the import of cheap fruit and vegetables from Arab countries, but encourages the import of cheap labour.

Spanish Lefties have recently tried to take down certain Christian statues as being offensive to Muslims (Saint James, the 'killer of the Moors', as he was known). Only an outcry from the local tourist industry prevented them from having their way. There

are two ways in which a nation can commit suicide. By failing to reproduce itself and by refusing to defend itself. The proud Spaniards are guilty of both.

There are two Hollywood films coming out this autumn about Truman Capote, the southern writer known as the 'tiny terror' for the horrible things he said about people. I knew Capote, but not well. We had many friends in common, ladies-who-lunch types, starting with Lee Radziwill, Jackie Onassis's sister, and Cee Zee Guest, the beautiful society hostess who died two years ago and whose late husband was a cousin of Winston Churchill. Lee and Cee Zee both physically stopped me from throwing Capote out of a first floor window once after I caught him trying to slip a mickey into a young, almost underage, boy's drink.

Babe Paley and most of New York society had stopped speaking to him because of the way he portrayed them in his unfinished opus *Answered Prayers*. Capote drank himself to death, popping pills non-stop, sniffing coke and boozing. The older he got the meaner he became. Because he was gay and because he sucked up to the right people, he was judged a great writer, right off the bat. He certainly wasn't a bad writer, but he was no Fitzgerald or Hemingway, that's for sure. The only book of his I liked was *Answered Prayers*, and I wrote him a note saying that the parts that had been excerpted in *Esquire* were simply wonderful. I was a columnist for *Esquire* back then, so I know he got my note.

And he was very Trumanesque about it. He went to a dinner party full of people I knew, took out my letter, and announced that I had propositioned him and he needed police protection from my advances. Cee Zee took umbrage and said that yours truly was the most heterosexual man she knew. When I was told about it I had to laugh. Not my girlfriend of the time, however. She saw him in a nightclub and threw her glass of wine in his face. I do not plan to see both movies about that little prick, but I *might* just go and see one of them...



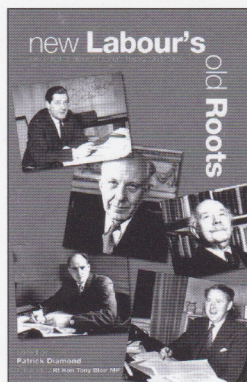
By
Taki

Wasting her time?

Marilyn Monroe dancing with the 'tiny terror' – Truman Capote

Smoke and mirrors

Keith Sutherland says that Labour's tangled roots are showing



What does New Labour actually stand for: the whole sorry answer is in this book. Perhaps Tony Blair should read it....



A man with a lot to answer for: George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 - 1831)

Not only was he very boring but he has influenced the whole 'New Labour project'

Keith Sutherland is publisher, *History of Political Thought* (as well as the various books he is dissing in this article)

In his party conference speech Gordon Brown made the claim that he was resolutely *New Labour*. But is it really plausible for an old Scottish socialist like Brown to become a convert to the 'project'? If so then what on earth is *New Labour*, this strange Janus-faced hybrid created by the tiny cabal of carpetbaggers that seized the assets of the old Labour Party in the 1980s?

A reasonable place to begin our enquiry is with the academic writings of the project members themselves. Patrick Diamond, until recently one of Tony Blair's special advisers, is the editor of a collection of essays entitled *New Labour's Old Roots*. According to Diamond, *New Labour* is part of a long tradition of 'revisionists' that includes such eminent figures as RH Tawney, Hugh Gaitskell and Bernard Crick. Revisionism, according to Diamond, is socialism without Marx, and has its origins in Edwardian social liberalism. Social-democratic revisionism in post-war Britain and Germany emphasises ethical values like 'equality' (more on this later), rather than public ownership of the means of production.

'Social democracy' is a cuddly-sounding phrase. With its appeal to the 'social market', surely this is the best of all possible options? But 'social democracy' is in fact an Orwellian inversion; the correct description is 'democratic socialism' – and only describes a change of means, rather than ends.

So how does one bring about the socialist revolution by peaceful and gradual means? Interestingly, Denis Healey has an essay in Diamond's book, notwithstanding his 1975 desire to "tax the rich until the pips squeak". Healey's outburst would be anathema to modern revisionists, as their principal weapon is obfuscation. Thus Gordon Brown uses his claim to be building a "home-owning, asset-owning, share-owning democracy" as cover for the biggest splurge of redistributive government spending in living memory. Whereas Margaret Thatcher really *did* empower working people to own their own homes, house prices have trebled under Brown's stewardship of the economy. Anyone who is not already on the property ladder might as well forget it.

Property price inflation has fuelled Brown's 'economic miracle' and provided the perfect cover for his redistributive splurge. Home-owners have allowed their 'wealth' to distract their attention from the Chancellor's grand larceny – as good an example as one can imagine of us bribing ourselves with our own money. House price inflation, along with low interest rates, has pushed household borrowing over the trillion pound mark for the first time. Rampant consumer spending has naturally led to the creation of hundreds of thousands of jobs 'servicing' that spending, which will all disappear as soon as interest rates go up and house prices start to fall.

The only factor that has prevented general inflation rocketing is the government's decision to encourage the wholesale export of manufacturing jobs to the Third World. But, as *Newsnight's* economics editor Stephanie Flanders has pointed out, this is a one-off benefit: once all the Dysons, Raleighs (and call-centres) have been outsourced to the Far East then there will be nothing left to counter domestic inflationary pressures. All that will remain will be a massive balance of payments

deficit and domestic unemployment.

Brown, Balls and his Treasury team are not stupid, they know the problems they are bequeathing to future generations, but by the time the chickens come home to roost their transformation of Britain into a socialist state will be complete, because there has been an unprecedented boom of jobs in the public sector. In many areas of the north, Scotland and Wales, the public sector is already the biggest employer, a situation that would astonish the eastern European states recently liberated from the Soviet yoke. And the principal effect of Brown's 'tax credits' scheme has been to blur the distinction between earnings from employment and welfare payments. The state now pays children to stay on at school, it pays single mothers to work, it pays others to look after the children of the single mothers and it pays a whole army of bureaucrats to administer the myriad schemes and miscalculate the payments. Now that the majority of the electorate is in receipt of the king's shilling, it is far less likely to vote against the hand that feeds it. What better way to create the one-party state?

According to Diamond, the guiding principle of the *New Labour* revisionists is the ethical value of 'equality' – the only remaining star in the socialist firmament. Bear in mind that 'equality' is not a 'natural kind'; it is a mathematic abstraction, the domain of Kantian philosophy. Is it right for social policy to be guided by such abstractions or would politicians be better off looking at real flesh-and-blood human beings and what motivates them? And it gets worse: an academic philosopher, Matt Carter, is General Secretary of the Labour Party and a leading Blairite moderniser. According to his monograph on ethical socialism, the roots of *New Labour* go right back to the 19th Century Oxford philosopher T H Green. Green is recognised as one of the principal architects of *fin de siècle* New Liberalism (with its rejection of the Gladstonian doctrine of *laissez faire*), but Carter claims that Green's focus on equality and his flirtation with ethical socialism give him a claim to be the true intellectual source of *New Labour*. Unfortunately what Carter doesn't mention is that Green's social thought (and his hopelessly optimistic view of human psychology) is derived from a discredited metaphysical system – the *Philosophische Propädeutik* of G W F Hegel. Such is the confusion in these murky philosophical waters that both *New Labour* and Roy Hattersley, one of the project's most vocal critics, claim Green as their inspiration.

The *New Labour* project assumes that it's possible to have your cake and eat it – the dynamism of the market *and* social welfare, equality *and* opportunity, Blair *and* Brown. But, as Isaiah Berlin famously pointed out, this just isn't possible in the real world – equality and freedom are both ethical 'goods', but you can't have them both at the same time (this was the essence of Berlin's critique of Green's theory of 'positive' freedom). David Goodhart, the editor of *Prospect*, is making the same point when he argues that cultural diversity and social solidarity may both be desirable, from a centre-Left perspective, but they conflict with each other. *New Labour* is deluding the public when it claims that the pursuit of equality is possible without adversely affecting the 'hidden hand' that guides the capitalist system. This will become clear during the next recession, but by then the covert socialist agenda of the Labour 'revisionists' will already have been fulfilled. As Sir Alfred Sherman put it in his recently published memoir, *Paradoxes of Power*, Thatcherism was just an interlude, and "we are back where we started". □

For decades the liberal bigot line has been that everyone in the UK possessed of a black and brown face or an 'ethnic identity' was every bit as loyal and committed to Britain and its constituent countries as the native white population. Any suggestion to the contrary brought heroic outbreaks of liberal bigot posturing as they solemnly told us that an Asian woman from the subcontinent, who could not speak English and lived entirely within her ethnic group knowing nothing of English culture, was just as English as the Englishwoman born and raised in England whose whole being was impregnated with English culture.

This shrieking nonsense was holed below the waterline by the bombers of July. The liberal bigot response has been to engage in the futile task of trying to square the circle of the ghettoised society which is modern Britain with a belated recognition that a society can only have cohesion if there is a shared national identity.

My favourite amongst the cascade of resulting incoherence comes from a report by Vince Cable for the 'think tank' Demos (www.politics.co.uk/domesticpolicy/demos-abandon-multiculturalism). This sternly said that Britain must toss aside multiculturalism and – wait for it – replace it with a 'multiple identity', consisting of a recognition that people in Britain belong to different 'communities' based on race, ethnicity, and religion.

I have turned this concept upside down, placed it back to front, laid it flat on the floor and it still looks like multiculturalism to me. And what is to bind this disparate population? Well, it is "a strong commitment to the rights of the individual and law and order", in short the liberal bigot fantasy of a 'rational' non-tribal society made flesh.

Close behind Cable comes the ineffable Trevor Phillips. Through CRE research, Trevor has discovered (shock horror) that "most white people do not have a non-white friend, while young Asian and black people have almost exclusively Asian or black friends" (*Sunday Times* 18 September 2005). Damn me, who would have thought it! 7 July bomber Mohammed Siddique Khan could have put Trevor right. A videotape message he left behind included the words, "Your democratically elected governments continuously perpetuate atrocities against my people and your support of them makes you directly responsible, just as I am directly responsible for protecting and avenging my Muslim brothers and sisters" (*Daily Telegraph* 2 September 2005).

The truth of Trevor's words was illustrated in the *Sunday Telegraph* (31 July 2005) where Sir Max Hastings wrung his hands over never having had a Muslim (and precious few blacks and Asians of any kind) to his dinner table. He assured his readers that he really must have such people around his dinner table in the future.

Of course, the Muslims that Hastings may invite to his dinner parties will be of the educated, middle-class Westernised kind. Sadly, he will never know the joy of living in an area where he is in the racial minority, of sending his children to a school where the head boasts, "We have 133 languages spoken here", or of having his wife and children routinely intimidated by gangs of ethnic youths or caught in the gun crossfire of ethnic gangsters. He will never live in a council tower block where his family are the only white tenants or find the only local shops have all become *halal*. These, of course, are the conditions which have been forced on the white working class by people such as Sir Max who have supported mass immigration and extolled the joys of diversity.

Anyone following the London bombings from the British media might be forgiven for imagining that London is an overwhelmingly non-white city and that

THE JOY OF DIVERSITY

the victims were predominantly non-white. In fact, the large majority of victims were white and British – from the details provided by the *Daily Telegraph* (22 July 2005), the dead divide into 30 white British, 5 white foreign, 3 from Turkey or the near East, 3 Mongoloid Asians, 5 subcontinental Asians and 4 blacks.

This media distortion of racial reality is routine. Crowds for England football and Rugby games are solidly white. Crowds for England Test matches are the same unless England are playing an Asian side. The London crowds which gathered for the Rugby World Cup and Ashes victors were overwhelmingly white. Ditto the London crowds following the death of Diana and the funeral of the Queen Mother. Despite the objective whiteness of the crowds, they are mysteriously transmogrified into multicultural events by the media.

One of the great entertainments of the summer was watching mediafolk desperately pretending that the Ashes cricket series had gripped "people of all races and beliefs". C4 were so desperate at the Oval Test that they were reduced to showing a single black face in the flats overlooking the ground. The crowds were so uniformly white that I started a 'Spot the black or Asian face in the crowd' competition on the web. Sadly for the liberal bigot community it went un-won.

Yasmin Alibhai Brown decided that the English fervour over their Ashes win was the worst kind of nationalism (*Daily Telegraph* 13 September 2005). Indeed, the games were so mono-racial it is a wonder that Brown and Phillips did not claim that they were illegal because the sides, the commentary teams and the crowds were all "hideously white".

Race realism has even infiltrated the BBC. A white Geordie convert to Islam, Ibrahim Hewitt, let the cat out of the bag when he was interviewed on the Radio 5 Simon Mayo programme (23 August 2005). Hewitt runs a private Islamic school in Leicester, the city in Britain with the largest ethnic content to its population. Questioned on one of the BBC's favourite fantasies – Leicester as a beacon of multicultural harmony – Hewitt replied "Leicester is not a multicultural city but a city of multi-ghettos."

**Celebrated
by
Robert
Henderson**

'Hideously white'? English fans support their team at a recent football match



NIMBYs of the world – unite!

You have nothing to lose but your countryside, argues **Derek Turner**

In RN 53, William Hartley wrote amusingly about the premature retirees who move to the countryside, only to spend their days in continual quest of 'The Quiet' – living in houses surrounded by hideous *leylandii*, complaining about the village children, the tractors on the roads, and keeping themselves aloof from the locals. Those who live in rural districts will be familiar with such people and their constant panting for streetlights, footpaths, wider roads, mown verges, bins for dog excrement and 'Best Kept Village' awards. Yet behind these local irritations lies a much bigger, and very disquieting, picture – the possibility of huge swathes of present day countryside being either concreted over entirely or, at best, turned into something suburban and sterile, like giant municipal parks surrounded by shoebox houses.

In September, the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) published a report, *Your Countryside – Your Choice*, predicting what the countryside could look like in 2035, if present trends continue. Every year, says the CPRE, 21 square miles of countryside are lost to developers. Only 11% of England's land area is now truly dark at night. Between the 1960s and 1994, English "tranquility" (ie, freedom from background noise) declined by 20%¹. A "Hunt for Hush" campaign launched on the *Today* programme in July identified only 75 places in England where, over any ten minute period between 7am and 7pm, the respondents could not hear any cars, trains, aircraft, boats, amplified music, other people, machinery or explosions². Many species of flora and fauna are still in calamitous freefall. Farming is dying because British farmers are in thrall to the supermarkets, and biodiversity is under threat because of government and EU encouragement of intensive agriculture.

The CPRE recommends a whole range of policies to counter some of these threats – encouragement of local food production and consumption, the maintenance of farm subsidies, 75% of new housebuilding to be confined to brownfield sites, the end of speculative airport expansion, and the creation of an "army of NIMBYs" to campaign at local level³. Such policies seem unrealistic when both the government and the chief opposition party are wedded to economic reductionism and the belief that biggest is always best – yet the CPRE is to be applauded for trying.

The CPRE's report curiously does not mention immigration as one of the chief causes of declining quality of life. Between 1991 and 2001, immigration accounted for over half of the UK's population growth – approximating to 1.14m people⁴. This clearly has a massive impact on resources, with all these extra people needing roads, houses and airports, and producing at least as much rubbish as riches. When will a major ecological group make this elementary connection?

The trouble is that immigration control is generally regarded as a 'Rightwing' (or even 'racist') cause, whereas ecological improvement is generally regarded as 'Leftwing'. This is an unfortunate legacy of the Thatcher era, during which ecologists were dismissed by callow propagandists as, to revive the shopworn clichés, 'muesli-eating, sandal-wearing hippies, who look like Tarzan and smell like Cheetah', etc. Yet

the etymological and philosophical links between conservationist and conservative should always have been obvious. The result is a conservative movement with a tendency to regard environmental protection as sentimental nonsense, and an environmental movement that combines a professed admiration for nature with dogmatic, childish political correctness. Either way, the countryside loses out.

But to return to the transplanted suburbanites, speaking as a relatively recent arrival in the countryside – I quit Deptford in 2000 – those who move to the countryside do deserve some understanding. They cannot help carrying their Hither Green minds to Herefordshire. And it is little wonder that they can find it difficult to fit in, because country people are themselves forgetting how to be country people. Bucolic traditions have long been in decline. Farmers who want to know about tomorrow's weather now listen to the radio rather than wonder whether it rained on St Swithin's Day. Few country people now shoot, or go ferreting, or spit shrewdly over cattle-market fences. Rural churches are as empty as city ones. Local history is being superseded by new, TV-inspired narratives; long local memories are being abridged by multicultural stimuli. Country children listen to the same records, wear the same clothes and want the same things as their city counterparts – and many leave the country for London just as soon as they can.

We are all ruled by the same people; we all watch the same TV programmes; we all face the same social and moral pressures. Even in the most remote places, there is no real refuge from these pressures – although they are modified by the experience of daily life in rural areas. The social conservatism that is lazily assumed to be an intrinsic part of the countryside is in danger of becoming a sepia-toned artifact.

We should also remember that those who retire from towns to the countryside are refugees of a kind – fleeing from the increasingly uncivilized cities of Britain. They may not understand the countryside, but their arrival is actually a kind of homage to the countryside. Their relocation is motivated not just by personal interest, but also by a dim race-remembrance of the England of great houses, cool churches and thatched cottages, of space, fresh air, low crime, social harmony and – it must be said – whiteness. People move to the countryside because successive governments have presided over a massive rise in criminality, immigration, overcrowding and pollution. While country people may resent their ancestral acres being taken over by townies, they should remember that these same townies are themselves being dispossessed of their own inherited territory.

And, finally, just as there are fields beneath the oldest of cities, even the most urban of urbanites are really country people at heart – just country people who have lived in Cockaigne for a long time. Their ancestors came from the land, and they are now making a partial return. Whether urbanite or country dweller, farmer or commuter, we should remember one salient point – the plight of the town is increasingly the plight of the countryside. Whether we like it or not, we are all in this mess together. □

VIEWS FROM NOWHERE

NOTES

1. BBC News website, 9 September 2005
2. "Muted response to 'Hunt for Hush'", Frances Booth, *Daily Telegraph*, 3 September 2005
3. Valerie Elliott, "Nimbys called to arms to save the countryside", *Times*, 9 September 2005
4. BBC News website, 9 September 2005; Ben Russell, "Immigrants make up half of population growth", *Independent*, 8 September 2005

The state of the Right in an 'obscure country'

Edward Dutton examines the rise of the True Finns

Finland has all of the conditions which should mean that the radical Right here is as highly successful, as it is in Norway and Denmark. It has poorly managed immigration, high immigrant crime, large numbers of immigrants who do not speak Finnish and live off benefits, and emerging immigrant ghettos. It also has an electoral system deliberately designed to give small parties seats.

Yet the main Rightwing alternative *Perussuomalaiset* (True Finns) has only three parliamentary seats out of 200 and 1.6% of the national vote. At first glance, True Finns may look like an abject failure when the Progress Party are the third largest party in Norway as are the Danish People's Party in Denmark. However, True Finns are more successful than they might seem at first. This quiet corner of Europe may well be the arena for the next liberal panic.

Three seats in parliament does seem a failure under a Weimar Republic system of proportional representation. The problem is that Finland's new Right is extremely new. In so many ways, Finland has always been *between* East and West. Its language is totally unlike anything else in Scandinavia, its people were classed as 'Mongol' by the Nazis and it was ruled by Russia between 1809 and 1917. From 1945 onwards it was a Soviet satellite state and a socialist semi-dictatorship. Under the authoritarian rule of Urho Kekkonen, who led the country from 1956 to 1981, nationalist parties were effectively banned. Nothing could be allowed to upset the Soviet Union, with whom Finland conducted almost all of its trade. Of course, while neighbouring Nordic countries let in large numbers of immigrant (mainly Arab) workers in the 1970s and 80s, Finland let in none, apart from insignificant numbers of Vietnamese boat people.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Finnish elite wanted Finland to join the European Union as quickly as possible (it did in 1995). This meant letting in significant numbers of asylum seekers (often Somalian and Sudanese) and immigrant workers. It also joined the Euro as soon as it could. The Finnish people were not even graced with a referendum on this. The only party of any size that stood up and opposed large-scale immigration and loss of sovereignty to Europe was the True Finns.

The country was ruled by Sweden until 1808 and just over 5% of the population are Swedish-speakers, but they form a large percentage of the elite. Swedish is Finland's second official language and everything official must also be in Swedish. Swedish-speakers have their own schools, their own university and their own political party which, despite getting only about 4% of the vote, has been part of almost every Finnish government since 1917, often holding senior posts. They are wealthier than other Finns, live longer and most major Finnish corporations are run by Swedish-speakers. Only True Finns dare to suggest that this colonial relic might be rather unfair and it has traditionally done well amongst Finns in areas with a large Swedish-speaking population. However, nobody listened to the True Finns in the 1990s and they were reduced to a humiliating 0.6% of the vote in the 1999 general election. They held one seat but this was very much a personal vote for the candidate

in question. In 2000, the position of Swedish-speakers was even reiterated by an act of parliament. But with high unemployment and parts of Helsinki gradually becoming ghettos, Finns are starting to listen to *Perussuomalaiset*.

The first signs of a recovery were seen in the 2003 general election. The party gained two seats, and increased its share of the vote. In Helsinki, the party did particularly well because of the public attention it gained through its star candidate Tony Halme, a former World Wrestling Federation wrestler who articulated, often in very blunt terms, what many Finns in the capital thought of the mainly Somali residents: "People who have them as neighbours either sleep very badly or not at all". Halme received a huge vote, more than the prime minister. The party's leader, Timo Soini, was also elected. In the areas of Helsinki that have suffered most from immigration, more than 40% voted for True Finns.

Halme caused some embarrassment for the party some months later when he was involved in a fight with his wife in which gun shots were heard, took some kind of drug overdose and ended up on trial. But despite this setback, Halme was elected to Helsinki City Council in the 2004 local elections and True Finns won new seats on numerous other councils. They did particularly well in areas of Finland with both large Swedish-speaking and Sudanese minorities. Also, a sign that that the Swedish-speaking situation might be beginning to change is that Finnish-speaking students no longer have to sit exams in Swedish at university. However, the language is still compulsory throughout school and it can be difficult to get some jobs unless you speak Swedish.

Finland has been ranked, by some commentators, as the most democratic country in the world, with the freest press, but the government response to True Finns hardly testifies to this. In the aftermath of Tony Halme's election, everything was done to discredit the party, and to paint them as 'racists'. Most Finnish newspapers seem to have pledged to avoid giving True Finns any publicity. This policy has extended from refusing to report that immigrant criminals are immigrants, to not even reporting their names, in an attempt to stop support for True Finns growing any further. The Leftwing bias in Finnish newspapers is quite incredible and it is very difficult to get a job on a large Finnish newspaper if either the Social Democratic Party or the Centre Party object to your politics.

But True Finns' message seems to be getting through. A larger number of Finns than any other nationality in the EU are dissatisfied with Europe and increasing numbers are calling for lower immigration. Timo Soini admits that it is difficult for his party. He claimed in a newspaper interview in 2000 that the "psychological legacy of Kekkonen" means that Finns are scared to be controversial. Also, Finns have very little national pride with almost no history of their own and almost no historically significant Finns for nationalists to make Finns proud of. There is a presidential election in Finland next year. True Finns won't win, of course. But they look set to cause a shock in this obscure part of Scandinavia. Let's hope it's a big enough shock to make the Finnish government see sense. □

DISPATCHES



— from
Finland

The True Finns' web address is: www.perussuomalaiset.fi

(the English section has not been updated for some time)

Edward Dutton writes from Oulu, Finland

The US and Europe – common problems, common interests

Richard Bertrand Spencer argues that the US-European dispute over Iraq masks more than it reveals

On 12 September 2001, the front-page headline of *Le Monde* famously read “Nous sommes tous américains”. Four years later, such sentiments sound either quaint or ironic, as the Atlantic Ocean seems to have widened considerably since. But did the often painful debate over the war in Iraq really result from the fact that Europe and America have fundamentally parted ways strategically, and even ideologically and culturally? More and more, a wide swath of Americans and Europeans would answer, yes. In many ways, the very publication of *The Cube and the Cathedral* is an indication of this. The volume is aimed at a wide, educated audience, and is representative of a new *le divorce* sub-genre of American non-fiction (most of which consists of worthless exercises in France-bashing).

A flashpoint of this debate has been the rather unfortunate terminology set down in Robert Kagan's *Of Paradise and Power* (2003): basically, ‘Americans are from Mars, Europeans are from Venus’. Kagan argues that the ‘power gap’ between America and Europe arises as both a cause and consequence of an ‘ideological gap’. Put simply, Europe believes that all the world's problems can be solved by a World Court, economic redistribution, and collective security organisations; America does not. This premise is accepted not only by American Republicans, but also by the blithest of Europhiles (eg, Mark Leonard, who argues for “the power of weakness”).

George Weigel, an American Roman Catholic theologian and biographer of Pope John Paul II, seems to have been spurred to write *The Cube and the Cathedral* after most of Western Europe refused to support Operation Iraqi Freedom. But then, unlike his neoconservative colleagues (including Kagan), Weigel has a far more passionate attachment to the continent, and calls up much of his inspiration from western European and Slavic thinkers. Weigel criticizes contemporary Europe in an effort to inspire them – and America – to reconnect with what he most admires of their shared European past.

Weigel conceives his critique through the architectural metaphors of Paris's Notre Dame (1260-1345) and La Grande Arche de la Défense (1982-1989), a minimalist cube in the corporate district large enough to contain Notre Dame in its hollow inner sanctum. Weigel first asks, who were the Frenchmen who built the cathedral? What constituted this culture whose central monument emphasized communal worship and the contrasts of stone and glass, support and lightness, unity and hierarchy? Weigel then looks across town, and asks, who are the Parisians who constructed the Grand Arch? What constitutes this culture which builds a ‘monument to human rights’ as a kind of über-corporate headquarters? (The Arch was dedicated on the bicentennial of the French Revolution by François Mitterrand.)

Weigel's more central questions are, despite the Grand Arch's pretensions, which culture would better protect human rights? Which culture would more firmly secure the moral foundations of democracy? The question cuts right to the heart of the modern superstition that it is only after tradition and religion have been abandoned that ethical societies can be forged and individuals inspired to flourish. Of course, Weigel's architectural metaphor is flawed within the context of the book. For what is “the cube” but a French attempt to outdo American corporate culture? Put another way, what is it about, say, the architectural landscape of Houston, Texas, that leads it to be the stronghold of the ‘faith-based values’ which Weigel so admires?

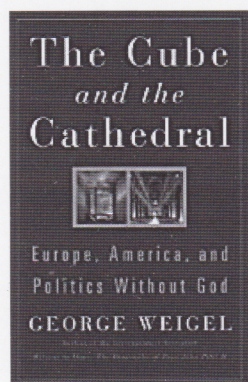
This quibble aside, Weigel's critique is most piquant in his look at Europe's fundamental failure to create a vital culture on the most basic of levels, as expressed by, in the words of Niall Ferguson, the “greatest sustained reduction in European population since the Black Death”. As of 2004, no western European nation comes close to replacing its population: Germany's birth rate is 1.3 children per woman; Catholic Italy and Spain, 1.2 and 1.1 respectively; France's is slightly better by dint of its expanding immigrant population. This decline is both silent and entirely self-inflicted. It might be tempting to blame it all on feminism, self-absorbed consumerism, the welfare-state tax burden or careerism, but all of these explanations are insufficient. What one witnesses in post-war Europe is a culture that, for all of its undeniable achievements, simply does not believe in its future.

Writers like the American environmentalist, Bill McKibben, cogently argue that a reduction in population is beneficial in that fewer people offers the prospect of smaller communities with lightened ecological impact. But such arguments collapse in the face of the reality that not only do modern economies and social programmes rely on sustained populations, but that, in Weigel's words, “Demographic vacuums do not remain unfilled”. As of today, 20 million Muslims reside in Europe – most of them having arrived legally. The question must be asked, how European will Europe be when, for example, the majority of teenagers of the coming Dutch generation will be of Middle Eastern ancestry?

Many would dismiss this discussion as ‘racist’, and claim that these new Europeans will become valued citizens (and there is no reason why this could not be the case). However, Muslim immigrants who entered Europe *en masse* in the second half of the 20th Century have on the whole lacked inclination towards assimilation and espouse little in the way of loyalty towards their host nation. Weigel expresses appropriate alarm at these developments, but then, any kind of real definition of what modern European citizenship should be is seriously lacking, and deserves to be fleshed out here. As citizenship based solely on race is equally impossible and undesirable – as it would exclude Arabs who seriously want to become European – it is all the more important for conservatives to base citizenship on allegiance to a nation. Such distinctions allow the Right to avoid the Scylla and Charybdis of, on the one hand, hateful racism and, on the other, the ‘citizens of the



The Cube:
La Grande Arche
de la Défense



The Cube and the Cathedral: Europe, America, and Politics without God
George Weigel,
Gracwing,
Leominster, 2005,
224 pages, hb, £9.99

world' globalarchy expressed by free-marketers, liberals, and Europhiles alike.

In this line, Weigel is certainly justified in excoriating the EU Constitution writers who avoided even facing this problem. Leaving the door open for Turkish EU membership, they instead indulged in a concept of 'tolerance' which amounts to little more than indifference. Could the EU Constitution, which does not acknowledge the continent's Christian heritage, truly "give an account of why Europeans should be tolerant and civil *Why not?*" [my emphasis]. The point is well made, but the obvious counter-example is the remarkably secular Declaration of Independence and United States Constitution, and, in the end, it is difficult to fully accept that a nation must avow Christian faith to act ethically.

Still, viewed within its proper context, Weigel's Catholic-tinged notion of a kind of 'Christian Union' seems to reveal a crucial historical aspect of the EU overlooked in the current Europhile/Eurosceptic debate. Whatever kinds of reconstructed Trotskyites support the EU now, one must not forget that the devout Catholics Konrad Adenauer and Robert Schumann were two of the most important in envisioning the project. It should thus be less surprising that Pope John Paul II actively supported Poland's membership of the EU. For them, a European union, on a very basic level, represented a new Christendom – certainly a Christendom in tune with secular modernity, but a Christendom nonetheless. The current state of the EU is all the more depressing in that such sentiments are now completely absent in the way that 'Europe' is conceived by supporters and detractors alike.

Unfortunately, Weigel is less insightful in his discussions of 20th Century European culture and current foreign affairs. In Weigel's analysis, Europe's catastrophes arose from a deep and lasting cultural breakdown at the gateway to the 20th Century: "World War I, the Great War, was the product of a crisis of civilizational morality, a failure of moral reason in a culture that had given the world the very concept of moral reason". The source of this crisis is, for Weigel, intellectual, and consists of the usual suspects: Comte's positivism, Feurbach's and Marx's messianic socialism, and Nietzsche's embrace of 'the will to power'. The rest was inevitable.

This is not a particularly original argument and amounts to a gross oversimplification of late 19th Century thought, particularly in the case of Nietzsche. But even if one were to grant the point, Weigel's true problem is his complementary claim – sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit – that America has represented a moral alternative. Weigel certainly does not deny the influence of Nietzsche, Marx & co in American life, but still wants to imagine that America has trodden a different, more dignified path into modernity.

One could take issue with Weigel on a variety of fronts – for example, the appalling death of civility in America represented by Wal-Mart, mega-churches, and uncentered suburban sprawl. But this is also a weak argument on the political level as well. It is certainly easy to bemoan Europe's fraction into extremist 'isms' in the first half of the 20th Century. But it is more difficult – and thus all the more pertinent – to look critically at militant universalism in American foreign policy stretching across the entire century, what Claes G Ryn (a Catholic political scientist more perceptive than Weigel) has called, "America the virtuous". That is, if one is to argue that the First World War resulted from Europe's spiritual tragedy, then one must be equally sceptical of

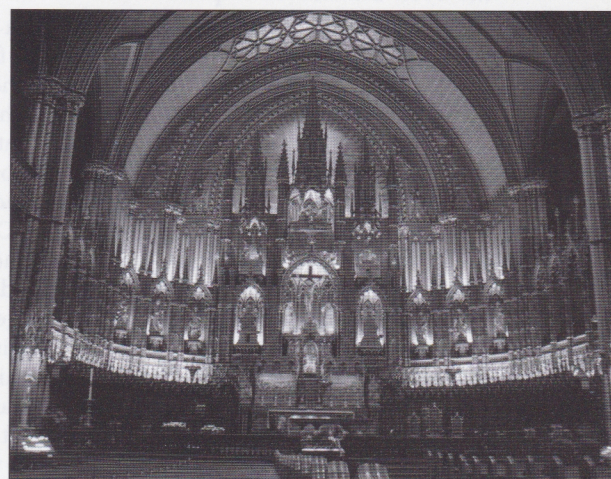
an American president, Woodrow Wilson, who claimed that America's national interest lay in 'a war to make the world safe for democracy'.

But Weigel reduces the Catholic tradition of 'just war' theory to a moral obligation and licence to save the world at gunpoint (although in op-eds, he uses the conservative-sounding language of 'advancing the cause of world order'). But he fails both to reveal American interventionism's ethical foundations, as well as to offer any compelling reasons why Europeans should support the noble cause. In the end, Wilson's defeat of the German Empire ensured the sustainability of Bolshevism just as Bush's overthrow of Iraq has galvanized Islamic violence. A proper understanding of America's 'just wars' overturns most of Weigel's oppositions. Today, President Bush's most fervent supporters are evangelical Christians, groups who claim to be not only the most conservative, religious, 'real' Americans, but hold that it is the military's duty to expand universal values abroad. America has her own form of decadence, but it is something that cannot be measured by church attendance as Weigel would like.

Weigel's book was published before the seismic shift in European politics following the *non* vote in France and the Netherlands rejection of the EU Constitution. Interestingly, the No 'coalition' in both countries included not only the nationalist Right but, perhaps to an even greater extent, a faction of the socialist Left. In turn, in Germany, it is not just the Rightwing *Junge Freiheit* that warns of "the dictatorship of the bureaucrats", but the Social Democratic *Der Spiegel*. Furthermore, while the current state of the American two-party system offers no choice for the real Right, in Europe, this is increasingly not the case. And yet Weigel's deprecation of Europe and sanctification of American 'conservatives' offers no space to consider these developments.

Despite these criticisms, as a popular book that brings questions of philosophy and national character pressingly to the fore, *The Cube and the Cathedral* deserves to be read – perhaps most of all because, despite himself, Weigel leaves one with the impression that Europe and America fundamentally share the same problems and interests, both of which are centered on the question of the very possibility of retaining communities, nations, spirituality, and dynamism in a world not only of mass immigration, but of consumerism, economic efficiency, universalism and self-satisfaction.

A crucial case study in survival and triumph mentioned by Weigel is Poland. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, Poland existed solely as a plot of land to be divided and traded between the great powers. The 20th Century brought far worse horrors. Is it not then a miracle that Poland played as significant a role as any in bringing the Soviet Union to an end, and afterwards emerged unified as a nation and people? Weigel is right to find the source of the Poles' enduring strength in their culture. Even accounting for terrorism, Americans and Europeans face nothing even resembling the direct threat to survival experienced by the Poles. Yet their shared culture is no less at stake. □



**The Cathedral:
an interior view
of Notre Dame
Cathedral**

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My Original Ambition

Dominic Shelmerdine, DS Publishing, London, 2004, hb, 192pps, £12.99

Reviewed by Derek Turner

Fourteen years ago, Dominic Shelmerdine had the idea of contacting famous people to try to establish what their "original ambitions" had been, in the hope that this would shed new and interesting light not just on the individuals themselves, but also on recent history. Even bearing in mind that the majority of the people he wrote to declined to become involved, and that many of the original ambitions owned up to by those who did respond are likely to be self-serving or fanciful, he has succeeded in his task. The book also serves to humanise many of his respondents – especially important in politics, where it is too easy to forget that one's opponents are flawed human beings like oneself.

The book contains an impressive and varied list of contributors – Mother Teresa, Tony Blair, David Bellamy, Frankie Howerd, Roy Strong, Terry Waite, Kurt Waldheim and David Attenborough, to name just a few. Because this book has been compiled over such a long period, starting in the early 1990s, some of the respondents have faded from the public, or at least this reviewer's, consciousness – for example, Sir Peter Imbert (former Metropolitan Police Commissioner) and Alexander Haig (former US Secretary of State). Others never were all that famous to begin with – Michael Chow (restaurateur), Harry Carpenter (sports commentator), Cliff Micheltore (broadcaster). Such is the evanescent nature of fame that the author should perhaps have provided potted biographies of each respondent. Many of the featured persons are destined to become ever more obscure until eventually they disappear entirely from human cognizance – which might be a good thing in some cases.

Sadly, many of the politicians who responded are likely to be remembered, simply because their malign influence will continue to be felt for many years. Take Edward Heath, for example – the man who sacked Enoch Powell in '68, who took Britain into the EU and who carved up England's ancient counties. His ambition was always simply to "become a Member of Parliament". One might wish that he had been less determined, that John Major's alternative original ambition (to play cricket for Surrey) had triumphed over his simultaneous desire to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that Paddy Ashdown had retained his early interest in music.

Edward Kennedy's autobiographical remark – "I grew up in a family where public service was highly regarded and where civil responsibilities took precedence over individual pursuits" – strikes unintentionally comic notes, as does that of Cherie Booth/Blair – "I would say that my ambition has



Books

"Reading maketh a full man"

— Bacon

been to make a difference for the better for my family, friends and country". Jeffrey Archer's contribution is as preposterous as might be expected, containing such David Brent-ish gems as "I was too much of a rebel to conform to the necessary disciplines demanded of an army officer".

Others strike far more impressive and attractive notes – like Lech Walesa ("I have to admit I do not like looking back...I leave judgement to history"); Ian Smith, whose original desire to be a farmer was overridden by his principled if ultimately unsuccessful "excursion into politics", the CND's Bruce Kent ("I hope that, as a priest, I was of some help to others in their own journeys through life") and even Tony Benn, who wanted to "do good and resist evil" – noble motivations, even if he has often misapplied them. This unique book encourages the reader to think about the nature of ambition, how fleeting fame is, and on what flukes and trifles human history so often depends.

Derek Turner is the editor of *Right Now*

Men of Honour: Trafalgar and the Making of the English Hero

Adam Nicolson, Harper Collins, London, 2005, hb, 340pps, £16.99

Reviewed by Stuart Millson

The 200th anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar has inspired a wide range of new literature, not to mention some spectacular naval reviews in The Solent, and even a new *Nelson Symphony*. Trafalgar and its visionary victor still ignite something deep in our hearts. Our blood (still, perhaps, with some salt in it!) pumps just that little bit harder when we see Nelson's flagship at Portsmouth, and imagine the thunder of her guns, the shouts of her men, the sight of her

sails and ensign billowing in the October wind off Cape Trafalgar.

Such ships were the floating oak fortresses and bastions of England, and they were captained by men of tenacious, sometimes ferocious commitment. The story of these men of honour, and of their leader, Horatio Nelson, is told by Adam Nicolson in this welcome literary addition to a year of Trafalgar celebrations. Mr Nicolson (well known for such books as *Perch Hill*, and his superb countryside column some years ago in *The Sunday Telegraph* magazine) is a writer to be admired – a true craftsman and historian, who delves into enormous detail (*Victory*, for example, took a decade to build and carried an astonishing 42,000lbs of gunpowder in 405 barrels), and yet he never bores us with dry fact – quite the reverse. Every chapter glows with insight and colour, and brings us closer to the enemy – and nearer to an understanding of what propelled Great Britain to victory on that defining day in our history.

Most importantly, the author makes fascinating comparisons between the British nation-state of 1805 and its enemies: a dogmatic, revolutionary France (their new order actually obstructing the country's economic progress), and a Spain still half submerged in the world of the 17th Century – a peasant economy, an aristocracy of knights, a mediaeval theocracy. Britain won, Nicolson argues, because of the fact she had become a modern nation – increasingly well-organised, industrial, mercantile, with growing prosperity, education, personal and collective motivation, and a system of government, politics, institutions and general life with which we, in the 21st Century, can still identify. To underline such points, the book displays a fine colour plate with portraits of the enemy admirals. The caption makes interesting reading:

"Even in the imagery by which they are recorded, the leading officers of the Combined Fleet do not have the unity and cohesion of their British enemy. The French commander, Pierre Charles de Villeneuve, remains the pre-revolutionary aristocrat. His leading captain, Jean-Jacques Etienne Lucas of the *Redoubtable*, stands the other side of the revolutionary divide. [Lucas appears every inch the Napoleonic zealot, with short, ruffled hair – the fashion of those who regarded themselves as true revolutionaries.] The Spanish Commander-in-Chief, Federico Gravina, and his leading Captain, Commodore Cosme de Churruca, seem to come from an earlier world altogether."

As Nicolson goes on to explain, the French and Spanish (although with many good fighting men) lacked the discipline and morale which animated the Royal Navy, and crews were unprepared for the onslaught which Nelson delivered. The book tells us how his strategy was one of ruthless, unceasing attack – a foretaste of the 'total

war' which characterised the world conflicts of the 20th century. And Trafalgar, despite our romantic view of the great encounter, was a bloody and terrible affair. One French captain expressed pain and despair at the appalling obliteration of his beautiful ship, and men of both fleets were horrified and numbed by the sights of their shipmates – alive one moment, yet reduced to a jelly of blood, ripped flesh and scraps of incinerated uniform seconds after the cannon shot had blasted the decks.

Yet Nelson – the tragic hero of the battle – was loved and honoured by his men, and by the whole British people, who saw this diminutive, Norfolk native as their only hope of saving the land from invasion and humiliation. Through his personality, supreme self-confidence and ability to predict every move of his enemies, Nelson had gained an almost superhuman status – his death on the deck of HMS *Victory* leaving the fleet bereft, silent, stunned after what should have been a jubilant conclusion to this mighty action.

Adam Nicolson has, to my mind, given us one of the best books of the year – a book that I could not put down, and a hugely enriching and informative study. Trafalgar guaranteed our country 135 years of naval supremacy and national power. It was the beginning of the end for Napoleon, whose hopes of sailing into the Thames estuary and raising the Tricolour over Buckingham Palace were dashed forever. The battle also convinced Britain that she was invincible – a mystical legacy that undoubtedly helped to sustain us at Dunkirk and during the Battle of Britain, the last great moment of national salvation before we gave up our empire in 1947 and handed our hard-won self-government to Europe in 1972.

How Nelson, our greatest son, must be weeping at Britannia's fate in modern times...

Stuart Millson is a contributing editor to *Right Now*

A throne in Brussels: Britain, the Saxe-Coburgs and the Belgianisation of Europe

Paul Belien, Imprint Academic, Exeter, 2005, hb, 384 pps, £25

Reviewed by Philip Claeys

Taki once described Belgium as "a thousand layers of excrement". Reading Paul Belien's book is not likely to change one's view of the bogus Belgian state.

Belien, a Flemish journalist, relates the history of Belgium through the history of its royal family, as the Saxe-Coburgs created Belgium in their own image. We get a fascinating account of the lives of the six Belgian kings. Some were thieves, one committed genocide in the Congo, and nearly all were adulterers. The first, Leopold

I, an uncle of Queen Victoria, would have succeeded to the British throne if his wife, Crown Princess Charlotte, had not died in childbirth in 1817. After having accepted and subsequently refused the Greek throne, he eventually became the king of a brand new country in 1831: Belgium.

In 1815 the provinces of the Southern Netherlands had been reunited with those of the Northern Netherlands as a kingdom under William I of Orange. Huge investments brought prosperity in the south. But the French were opposed to a Dutch bulwark to their north, and staged a revolution to split the Netherlands in two and create a new artificial country. Belgium secretly had been intended to join France, but Britain would not allow this to happen. To the surprise of many, the artificial construct (some call it an historical accident) survived and still exists today.

There is no Belgian people, but two culturally and linguistically different peoples: the Flemings (60% of the population) and the Walloons. No Belgian national consciousness has ever developed. As a result, the regime had to resort to other means to keep the country together. In the beginning, this meant Frenchification by force. The Dutch-speaking Flemings were treated as a minority that didn't need any linguistic rights, so French became the only official language overnight. Flemings who protested were criminalized as enemies of the state.

They had to wait until the German occupation during World War I to obtain some rights. For the first time since 1830, the administration of Flemish municipalities was in Dutch. Flemish children again received education in their mother tongue. The University of Ghent became a Dutch-language institution. After the German surrender, it had to revert immediately to French, as Belgium could not grant legally what the occupying Germans had imposed illegally.

Towards the end of World War I, there was much suffering among Flemish soldiers. During the final Allied offensive, the most militantly pro-Flemish regiments were put in the first line. Nearly all Belgian officers only spoke French. Flemish privates who didn't understand French were told that "in Africa, even the niggers understand their orders".

The Belgian involvement in the Congo was indeed a story on its own. King Leopold II had hustled himself into private ownership of that country, and earned a huge fortune with the exploitation of rubber and minerals. He killed approximately 10m Africans in the process. Others whose work was deemed insufficient (or their wives) had a hand chopped off. Eventually, the tyrant Leopold had to hand his private colony over to the Belgian state, after international protests became too deafening. The gains were for Leopold, the costs for Belgian taxpayers.

Even today, the extent of the Coburg family fortune is a secret. It is a bit ironic to hear contemporary Belgian kings preaching about 'tolerance' and 'cultural diversity' when one knows where most of their fortune comes from.

When he realised the Flemings could not be denied their cultural and linguistic rights forever, King Albert (1875-1934) thought of a second method for keeping Belgium together. He established a corporatist system ruled by the "social partners", eg. trade unions and the Belgicist employers' organisation, VBO. Basic decisions on economic, social and financial matters are still not taken by democratically elected bodies like parliament or government, but by these "social partners". As there is no sense of patriotism, the Belgian regime purchased the loyalty of its citizens by granting all kinds of social advantages (it still does). The "social partners" have a vested interest in supporting artificial Belgian unity, which leads to an institutionalised form of corruption. Not less than 40% of the economically active population in Wallonia is government-employed, and about 20% of Walloons are on the dole. Reliance on government is the backbone of the Socialist power in Wallonia and Belgium.

Belgium today is a semi-democratic country. It has the formal characteristics of a democracy, but suffers endemic corruption and has an unofficial state ideology, multiculturalism, thereby restricting freedom of speech. It is the only country in western European history that has banned its biggest political party, the *Vlaams Blok* (now *Vlaams Belang* – 'Flemish Interest'). Belgian federalism is a system devised to turn the Flemish majority into a minority. Walloons can block any decision made by a majority of Flemish MPs, and get half of the federal ministerial posts. The so-called proportional electoral system allows Walloons to get elected more easily than Flemings. (At the last European elections, for instance, the *Vlaams Belang* got more votes than the Walloon Socialist Party, but the latter gained one seat more.)

In this thoroughly researched book, Paul Belien explains how Belgian political attitudes have infected those of the European Union, and act as a model for the whole EU. According to Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt, "Belgium is the laboratory of European unification. Foreign politicians watch our country with particular interest because it can teach them something about the feasibility of the European project". This is a real Belgian mantra. In his Christmas sermon of 1988, King Baudouin showed the ambition to "show Europe in which direction its unification must proceed. Belgium can and must become the cradle of a federal Europe". It is up to all Europeans to fight against becoming Belgians themselves.

Philip Claeys is a Member of the European Parliament for the *Vlaams Belang*

Maurice Cowling 1926–2005

John Oddy remembers a great conservative thinker

Admiration for the work and stance of the distinguished and redoubtable Cambridge academic Rightist Maurice Cowling led me in 2004 to seek an interview with him. Unhappily, for practical reasons, my project was never carried out. Now that he has gone from us, it falls to me to sketch for *RN*'s readers the life and teachings of a man of great ability and powers of application who was dedicated to showing up and opposing the morally pretentious but false and pernicious philosophies that in the hands of a propagandizing class, still dominant in the media, politics, education, and bureaucracy, are effecting the nihilistic destruction, at every level, of the accumulated values of our culture.¹

Son of a patent agent, Reginald Frederick Cowling, and his wife, May, Maurice John Cowling was born on 6 September 1926 at Norwood, south-east London. RF Cowling qualified himself to set up in business on his own, and they moved to 74 Pendle Road, Streatham, SW16, whence Maurice attended Battersea Grammar School, whose headmaster "thought him clever enough to become an archbishop of Canterbury" (I quote from the *Times*, 26 August 2005). In 1940 the Luftwaffe bombed Pendle Road, hitting No 74.² Before or about that time, the family moved out to Cheam in Surrey. Battersea Grammar School's displacement to Hertford entailed Maurice's lodging there to continue his attendance. In 1943 he won a history scholarship to Jesus College, Cambridge.

There he encountered the teachings of three senior Anglican scholar-reactionaries. They, he wrote in the first and quasi-autobiographical volume (1980) of his trilogy *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England*, were Sir Kenneth Pickthorn who, reacting (on behalf of most Englishmen, the latter assumed) against "liberal flatulence and insincerity", "expressed in language of sometimes lurid obscenity" "the feeling" "that these [the Left] were vile, unspeakable, and beneath consideration, and really were concealing truth and corrupting morals";³ Edward Welbourne, who assailed misleading accounts of working-class history and the Revd Charles Smyth, Cowling's actual teacher, whose phrase "the tyranny of superstition" referred to "the hoary superstitions" of the Rationalist, and who attacked the 'pink record' of the BBC Overseas Service and the National Union of Students and moreover criticized the Ministry of Information

for Left-ishly making out that we were fighting the War for a "New Social Order".⁴

When Cowling left Cambridge in June 1944 to join the army, in which he attained the rank of captain, he had concluded "that Church-State Anglicanism was a good thing and that Liberalism was positively antagonistic to it".⁵ As for the war, he would later argue that British participation had been an enormously risky, deluded, liberal gamble that had led here to the imposition of socialism.

In 1948 he resumed his Cambridge studies and eventually gained a double First in the Historical Tripos. He would make forays into professional journalism, and he unsuccessfully stood as Conservative candidate for Bassetlaw, a Labour stronghold (1959), and served as a county councillor for Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely (1966–70); yet he was principally famous or notorious as a fellow (1963–93), and thereafter emeritus fellow, of Peterhouse, which became a Rightist nexus: Edward Norman and Roger Scruton were but two of its other Rightist Fellows.

Cowling's strenuousness as a tutor inspired mixed reactions. Utterly serious, given to shocking, he would disconcertingly write freshers a note saying, "Please call on me on Tuesday evening at six, bringing with you a serious essay on an historical or philosophical subject".⁶

Rather similarly, he put to the question John Stuart Mill, the Victorian rationalist "saint" and liberal beacon. The second edition (1989) of *Mill and Liberalism* (1963) reprints the original closely-argued study but adds a vivacious new Preface, remarking (eg), "Intellectually it [the book] was aggressive...It argued that Mill had not only been advocating post-Christian religion, which he had pretended duplicitously not to be advocating, but had also suffused his advocacy with the same sort of liberal intolerance with which the higher liberals and liberal collectivists in all political parties and all parts of the intellectual spectrum in the 1950s, had been suffusing theirs".⁷ Cowling intended the book to be what one reviewer "obligingly" described it as: "dangerous and unpleasant".⁸ And of EM Forster, Cowling was to write, "Even at the millennium, Forster retains an air of secular sanctity....The time for admiration, has long been over. This section will rough him up."⁹

Praising Edward Norman's *Church and Society in England 1770–1970*, (1976), Cowling calls it "the best type of academic book; it takes a number of ideas and runs them ruthlessly through a large body of historical material".¹⁰ This could describe what Cowling himself does in his massive *chef d'oeuvre*, *Religion and Public Doctrine*, which considers hundreds of writers. Volume II, 'Assaults', discusses the ding-dong battle for the public mind between Christians and their opponents. Volume III, 'Accommodations', examines proffered Christian compromises and the post-Christian consensus that Christianity is now irrelevant; nevertheless Cowling could still write there of "the Christianity which is latent in English life".¹¹

Cowling's last years, spent in Wales, were marred by ill health, including the restricted mobility he mentioned in a short but kind letter to me (27 September 2004). He died on 24 August 2005, aged 78, and is survived by his wife Patricia, whom he married in 1996.¹²

Capable of occasional obscurity in his prose, he managed, however, to get a clear message across: Christian conservatism is capable of defence against liberal doctrines; and "relativism and the sociology of knowledge could be turned against" liberalism; "the last king did not have to be strangled with the entrails of the last priest".¹³ □

Other books by Maurice Cowling:

The Nature and Limits of Political Science (1963)

Disraeli, Gladstone and Revolution (1967)

The Impact of Labour (1971)

The Impact of Hitler (1975)

A Conservative Future (1997)

He edited *Conservative Essays* (1978).

Dr John Oddy writes from Norfolk

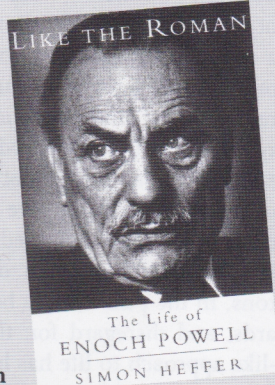
NOTES

1. Friedrich Nietzsche forecast such nihilism. See eg, Paul Roubiczek, *Existentialism: For and Against* (1964; pbk repr, 1966), pp 38–49.
2. At short notice, Mr John W Brown of the very active Streatham Society kindly found me the SW16 address, argued for 1940 as the year of the air raid, and sent me the *Independent's* obituary article cited below, n. 6.
3. Pbk reprt (2003), p 60.
4. *Ibid.*, pp 91, 79.
5. *Ibid.*, p 96.
6. Michael Bentley, "Maurice Cowling", 6 September 2005, p 30.
7. p xi. This Preface (pp ix–xlv) contributes valuably to the modern history of our intellectual Right.
8. Preface, p xii. Readers wanting an attractive preliminary look at Mill should see Roger Kimball's critique "Mill, Stephen, and the Nature of Freedom", in the symposium *The Betrayal of Liberalism*, ed. by Hilton Kramer and Kimball (Chicago, 1999), pp 43–69.
9. *R & PD.*, III, p 559.
10. *Ibid.*, I, p 447.
11. p xi.
12. For further on Cowling see the unsigned obituary articles, both of 26 August, in the *Daily Telegraph* (p 31) and the *Times* (p 72).
13. *Mill and Liberalism*, 2nd edn, Preface, p xi, and loosely alluding to the ghastly aspiration cited in the *Testament* of Jean Meslier, an outwardly diligent Ancien Régime curé, actually seething with atheism and rebelliousness against rulers. See the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, revised edn (1996) and Paul Hazard's eloquent *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, transl. by J Lewis May (1954; Pelican edn, 1965), pp 66–8.

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54

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THE LAW IS AN ASS

Nothing infuriates me more than stupidity, and a prime example of public stupidity is the belief held by many that everyone should respect the law and that this should apply equally to everyone. Why? I have long maintained that people who are moral and intelligent do not need laws, as they instinctively refrain from actions which might harm others, and have the good sense and foresight to avoid harming others through thoughtlessness. Laws, therefore, are designed for the stupid and the im- or a-moral. That is fine, but do not then expect those of us who are neither to be subject to the same pettifogging restrictions. There was a time when this was understood by all, if not quite so blatantly articulated. Deference was the norm. The 'upper classes' were respected by the

police, who understood that they were to be given preferential treatment. Some people will be outraged at this 'discrimination'.

'Everyone is equal before the law', they say. Save it for the fairies. Good policing is all about targeting and profiling.

There is a world of difference between an unemployed drug addict and a professional man, and equally any intelligent person can see that experience and evidence point to the fact that whites are less likely to commit certain criminal offences than blacks, and Asians are most likely to be Muslim terrorists.

It's time the police understood the biological realities of life, and exercised their discretion appropriately.

As for those of us who have the morality and intelligence to determine our own actions without needing to be told, why should we respect the law? Not since Moses have laws been handed down by God. Laws these days are made by

politicians. Now I don't know about you, but

there are very few members of parliament for whom I have an iota of respect. Laws are made through the prism of the views of MPs. The law against hunting with hounds, for instance, was not designed to improve the welfare of foxes but to deny pleasure to a section of society MPs disapproved of for emotional reasons. Laws made by morons are moronic laws. Laws made by traitors are treacherous laws. Why should we respect and obey moronic, treacherous laws?

At the simplest level, consider the traffic laws. There is an anti-speeding advertising campaign at the moment with the strapline "There's a 30 mph limit for a reason". Well, yes, but the reason is that MPs are gutless, politically correct, and anti-motorist. Speed limits in towns and on country roads and motorways are too low. I have been saying this for years, but you always get the odd cretin who disagrees and whines 'you've got to obey the law'. But now even the government has come round to accepting that the speed limits are often wrong. A recent report in the *Sunday Times* stated that ministers "believe it would be fairer for limits to be raised by 10mph on certain 30, 40 and 50mph roads". If the speed limit is raised on a road, does anyone seriously believe that what

was dangerous one day is safe the next? Of course not. It just means that the politicians were wrong before – or maybe they are wrong now. The point is that you cannot rely on the judgement of politicians, and hence you cannot trust the law to be right. You should therefore exercise your own judgement, as long as you are capable of this. No doubt the same cretins who say I should obey the speed limit when it is 30 will be happy for me to drive at 40 the next day, just because some politicians have said it is all right for me to do so. But I do not need a politician to tell me what to do, and nor do other moral, intelligent Britons. In the past Britons had a healthy cynicism towards, and disregard for, the law. This stout yeoman-like approach to life has been steadily eroded by governments seeking to exert complete control over those they regard as their subjects. It is time we stood up for ourselves and told the law, and the lawmakers, to go to hell.

ANY COLOUR AS LONG AS IT'S BLACK?

What has Trevor Phillips, head of the Commission for Racial Equality (there's an oxymoron for you, though some might be tempted to omit the 'oxy' part) been putting in his tea recently? Whatever it is, he has certainly been very frisky and has been making a number of controversial (though not necessarily wrong) statements. First he said that black boys could benefit from being educated separately, then he complained that Britain was becoming ghettoised (rather contradicting his previous proposal, I would have thought, but never mind), and finally he has been challenging some of the modern multicultural shibboleths. The *Daily Mail* reported that in a speech to a fringe meeting at the Tory party conference, Phillips "suggested it might not be offensive to call people 'coloured'; asked if it was necessary for minority religious holidays to be observed at all; [and] challenged the practices of town halls which print documents in multiple languages".

As a fair man I have always believed in giving praise where it is due, and Phillips is to be congratulated for having the honesty to start saying some obvious truths. Take the use of the word 'coloured'. I have often used this word as it is so much shorter and simpler than the alternative ('black and Asian'). There is no intention to offend, and indeed I cannot for the life of me see why it should be considered offensive to be described as 'coloured' but fine to be called 'black' – which is the name of a colour! In the US, the largest organisation lobbying for the coloured community is called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Of course I fully appreciate that not all coloured people are the same, but it is useful to have a collective word for them, just as we talk about 'whites' even though we understand that a Swede is not the same as a Spaniard, or an Italian the same as an Irishman. The fact is that it is often white, self-appointed race relations industry experts, who are the most fanatical about bowdlerising the English language. Has any coloured person ever really objected to the word 'coloured', or 'blackboard', or the term 'black coffee'? I doubt it.

Equally, it is the self-same white race relations



By
*John
Bull*

"How few men are strong enough to stand against the prevailing currents of opinion ... Be prepared to stand up faithfully for Right and Truth, however the wind may blow".

Winston Churchill

'experts' who are constantly pressing for Britain to be more 'sensitive' to the feelings and cultures of other communities. No sensible person, if he is in a minority, expects his views, customs, wishes, or whatever to be treated the same as those of the majority. If you are the only vegetarian at a party you should not expect to foist your vegetarian rabbit food onto everyone else. What you eat is up to you, but you cannot say that you are offended by the sight of others tucking into their scrumptious pork chops. If you are a Liberal Democrat you do not expect, given that you have polled less votes than Labour, Charles Kennedy to be made Prime Minister. So when it comes to religious festivals, while everyone can celebrate as they wish at home, Britain is a Christian country and it is absurd to expect public recognition of non-Christian festivals, or for Christian festivals to be 'toned down'. Christmas is Christmas, not Winterval, and if you don't like it, tough, that's your problem. But of course, as I pointed out earlier, it is not normally the immigrants who are complaining, but those whites who, in the guise of engendering more harmonious community relations, are actually pursuing their private agenda of destroying Britain's heritage and the British way of life in order more easily to control a fractured, atomised and rudderless society.

So congratulations to Phillips, on this occasion, for speaking a few words of common-sense. We should always remember that our enemy is not the immigrant or coloured community (except, obviously, for those members of it who are criminals or terrorists), but the overwhelmingly white politicians and agitators who seek to oppress the native British people. No coloured person, for instance, has ever objected to my proposal that the government provide financial inducements to those who wish to return to their countries of origin; hardly surprising, I suppose, since this was an idea originally mooted by the black MP Bernie Grant. So why should white, Leftwing extremists become so incensed by this suggestion? The proposal harms no-one and benefits those immigrants who wish to take it up, but it challenges the ideology of the far-Left and that is why they oppose it. But as they say, a man is judged by his enemies, and I am proud of mine.

CRY FREEDOM

I have always objected to those who try to classify me as 'Right-wing' as I cannot so easily be pigeon-holed (as those who know me will testify). One label I am, however, prepared to accept is 'libertarian'. I believe in freedom, and freedom of choice. That is why I so object to the road this government is travelling down, be it with regard to ID cards, speed cameras, restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of choice or even where we send our children to school. Consider just three newspaper stories from the last couple of weeks:

(1) "11-plus exam to decide schools entrance". The government is planning to test all children applying to secondary schools, in order to be able to ensure that all schools have a mix of abilities. The government is worried that middle-class families are filling good schools in nice areas and that these schools don't have enough stupid ruffians. Schools will therefore have to fill quotas of children of different ability bands, thus ensuring that good schools are levelled down. This is, of course, simply part of the government's fixation with egalitarianism. 'Liberals' are obsessed with fighting 'privilege', but men are not born equal, and 'privilege' is simply a reflection of the lifestyle of those who are inherently more able than others. To destroy 'privilege' therefore entails opposing ability and the instinctive and natural desires – and freedom of choice – of those who possess it. Egalitarians oppose freedom because freedom allows differences to be evinced which lead to independence in those most able. And 'liberals' are opposed to independence because this prevents them from controlling those who think differently. 'Liberals' are the real fascists, not 'Right-wingers' – always remember that.

(2) "Car number plates will get spy tags". The government is planning to introduce chips in every car number plate so that cars and drivers can be constantly monitored. This is not some futuristic proposal: a trial is already underway.

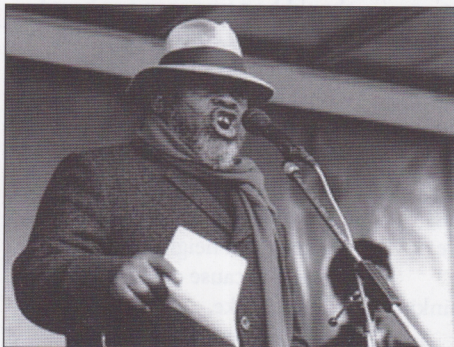
(3) "Top traffic cop wants to hide speed cameras in catseyes". Covert speed cameras which are fitted into the road like catseyes have already been developed in Australia, and the head of road policing at the Association of Chief Police Officers wants them introduced in Britain.

Apart from the fact that both these last two stories relate to motorists, who are an easy target, what really binds them is the way the government always argues that restrictions on our freedom are necessary for our own protection. Putting chips in number plates, it is therefore said, will combat car thefts, and adapting catseyes

to operate as speed cameras, we are told, will prevent deaths caused by speeding. We are constantly treated like children who need nanny to look after us, and many people seem content to be complicit in their own infantilisation. The truth is that car thefts have been falling as manufacturers incorporate better security devices such as immobilisers as standard, and road deaths are not caused by speeding (how many people died in Formula 1 last year?) but by bad driving. In any case, the preservation of freedom is more important than the preservation of life lived in servitude.

All these stories clearly reveal the government's fascist, controlling, mentality. Those who voted Labour may be content to live in a police state, but not I. Whatever one might think of the American War of Independence, the battlecry "give me liberty, or give me death" was a sound philosophy; it is time we returned to those traditional values.

"'Liberals' are obsessed with fighting 'privilege', but men are not born equal, and 'privilege' is simply a reflection of the lifestyle of those who are inherently more able than others"



The late Bernie Grant MP: advocated offering financial assistance to blacks wishing to return to their land of ethnic origin

John Bull can be contacted at
johnbull@englandmail.com

Sir,
Mike Smith's review of the UKIP story, *Cranks and Gadflies*, was positively indulgent, especially in terms of what was not said. Author Mark Daniel must be a relieved man after the panning his book and reputation have received elsewhere.

What a shame Mr Daniel's research did not include talking to at least one of his subjects – namely, me. Had he done so I would have told him, contrary to his published account, that:

1. There is absolutely no evidence that my nomination as the number two candidate in the south-east was 'adjusted' in any way. Far from it. All candidates were warned that the votes would be counted by an independent body.

2. All the information I provided to the party prior to the election, and afterwards, was correct.

3. Mr Farage's quoted comment that the party was not informed of certain matters (which are still *sub judice*) is disingenuous in the extreme, for reasons which Mr Farage personally knew very well but has since chosen to ignore. What on earth were two of his minions doing, closeted with my lawyers for half a day, if they were not getting a full briefing?

All of which could have been discovered with a quick phone call. Or was Mr Daniel's reluctance based on the fact that I knew rather more than he might care about his own background, and played a part in preventing his landing two lucrative UKIP contracts at various times past? That he was helped to write his book about UKIP is a clear indication that my steadying hand was missing.

As for my own circumstances now as an independent MEP, there is a great deal more to be said but only when legal arguments are at an end. Meanwhile, and more importantly, the fight to free the UK from the tyrannical tentacles of the EU goes on. My website www.ashleymote.co.uk records my part in the battle to restore to the British people the right to govern themselves. That is my testament.

Ashley Mote, MEP
Brussels

*"It is by benefit of letters that
absent friends are, in a manner,
brought together."*
— Seneca



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The editor regrets that he cannot answer all correspondence

Sir,
I sympathize, somewhat, with Kevin Lamb, who described his forced resignation from the US weekly newspaper *Human Events* in RN 52. What surprises me is that he called this newspaper 'conservative' several times.

I subscribed to the so-called 'national conservative weekly' for many years, but I finally saw the light and realized that *Human Events* plays the same dirty trick that's played on both sides of the pond: journals and politics pretend they're conservative, but really are just defenders of one major party and/or the political establishment. *Human Events* is a *Republican* paper; it's not conservative. Most Republicans in the Congress aren't conservatives; they're Republicans.

When I first started thinking about politics, I asked my dad what a Republican or a Democrat actually was. He gave a simple, yet perfect, answer: It's just a political party. People join political parties to gain access to power and prestige; with some noble exceptions, they don't join to serve their respective countries. Mr Lamb should consider himself lucky that he no longer works for that propaganda organ for the corrupt leadership of the Republican Party.

I'm sure he can use his talents at much better places than *Human Events*.

Kenneth Reynolds,
New York

Sir,
In the September issue of *Right Now* I especially appreciated the article by William Hartley on

retired suburbanites. He is dead on target.

In Germany where I live, generous pensions ensure that spoilt retirees with too much money and too much time are particularly prevalent and clamorous. As Hartley rightly says, these people are quick to complain but unwilling to contribute. They are hostile to all manifestations of life, especially children and wild animals, who, to take the Victorian dictum one step further, they seem to believe should be never seen nor heard. Children are constantly being upbraided for playing outside within hearing distances of their homes and I have heard of several stories of irate pensioners in Germany exterminating frogs and even crickets(!) in neighbours' gardens because of the noise the animals make.

To add insult to injury, retired civil servants in Germany live on an income to which they did not even contribute, as civil servants are entirely exempt here from pension contributions.

Michael Walker,
Cologne, Germany

Sir,
Do we really want 70 million people who will be entitled to work in Europe and receive benefits, NHS facilities and housing? Britain is the most generous in this respect – although I would say stupid. It is no use saying that this will not take place. Look at the recent shambles when six further countries joined the EU last year. The government said that only 4,000 people from these countries would

come to work in Britain. More than 60,000 have flocked to our shores to seek work at a time when our unemployment figures are still too high.

A recent European Commission poll showed Austrian citizens were sceptical, with 80% opposing Turkey joining. Mainstream politicians from Austria, Germany and France campaigned to block a nominally Islamic nation joining Europe. Countries including France plan to hold referendums on this issue.

Many countries opposed to Turkey joining already have large Turkish populations and are fearful of more being allowed in.

So why are the citizens of Britain not being allowed a say in this important matter by way of a referendum? Is it because they fear the result?

Although 99% of Turks are Muslims, it is at present a secular, democratic state but what will happen should Islamic fundamentalists take over, as has happened in many other countries?

We already have too many immigrants in this country and the sheer numbers mean that integration into British society has not happened. Even Trevor Phillips, head of the Commission for Racial Equality, has admitted that multiculturalism has failed.

An influential think tank, Civitas, said that the country's obsession with promoting other cultures has split communities, bred racial hatred and cultivated home-grown terrorism. As Civitas said, "multiculturalism has the capacity to be not only divisive but decidedly lethal". So do we really want to add to this problem before we solve it?

Clark Cross,
Linlithgow

Sir,
Your generous references to Enoch Powell in the September issue, particularly those of Frank Ellis, took me back to April 1968.

I was attending a weekend school on public speaking at Swinton College, of blessed memory, which had been designed for would-be parliamentary candidates



and Conservative Speakers Panel members. Relaxing on a Saturday evening, news began to filter through that Enoch Powell had made a speech to the West Midlands CPC in Birmingham on immigration. We thought this odd because he was shadow defence spokesman at the time; however it caused no great excitement as most of us were more concerned with producing scripts for our Sunday presentations to some very exacting mentors.

The following morning changed things: the few papers that we could obtain bannered it and, already, certain Labour MPs were talking of prosecution with relish. By chance our first speaker that day was Francis Pym, then deputy chief whip, and, of course, the question was asked: "What is going on?"

Pym, a more affable man than his great ancestor, was totally blasé. He happily assured us that this was a very minor matter, hardly worthy of attention. His words as far as I can remember after nearly forty years were "We all know Enoch, this is one of his small eccentricities and will be soon forgotten".

Pym was terribly naive, or vastly uninformed, or hiding the truth even from the party NCOs, because with great rapidity Heath dismissed Enoch from his job and thus began what I see as a fault line in the party that persists to this day.

Enoch is gone but the words 'Enoch was right' are going to reverberate around the Conservative Party long after I and my generation have joined him.

Peter Maddox,
Swansea

Sir,
Believing in unimpeded scientific enquiry and publication, I applaud your interview with sociobiologist Dr Rushton regarding what were once called 'races of mankind' (RN 53). However, I have a few questions:

(1) Where do Arabs, Indians and Australian aborigines fit into his overall picture of three

human subspecies?

(2) Since South African 'coloureds' were originally a cross between some white settlers and Hottentots or Bushmen, and latterly Cape Malays were included in this category, is the average IQ of this very heterogeneous group really relevant to white-black disparity?

(3) Do IQ estimates of East Asians around the Pacific Rim reliably represent the cold-adapted Mongoloid population as a whole, including millions of peasants in the interior of China, Manchuria and Tibet, and northern Siberia?

(4) I prefer to converse with 'black' professors than 'white' chavs, even if their relative proportions differ in the two ancestral populations. Since we cannot "judge a book by its cover" and no direct gene linkage exists between melanin and intelligence, should we not totally ignore any historically evolved features of an individual, like skull or hair formation, when predicting intellectual achievement or sociability?

(5) If "genetic similarity theory" is valid, and mating choices help "ensure that our own segment of the gene pool" is safely "transmitted to future generations", why is racial mixture increasing, for example, in English towns where 'black' men are decidedly keen on 'white' girls and 'white' men are noticeably marrying south-east or eastern Asians?

(6) What about these quotes from geneticist Dr Kenneth F Dyer's 446-page *The Biology of Racial Integration* (Bristol: Sciencetechnica, 1974): "The numbers of gifted individuals who would be produced in a racially mixed population in the USA, for instance, would probably be just as great as are now produced when the Whites and Negroes are partially isolated... race crossing has no harmful or detrimental effects... The long-term consequences are possibly of some significance, in that they result from the rearrangement and reassortment of genetic variability through the species" but this is "a stimulus to further evolution and not a detraction"?

L S Peart,
London SW8

DATES for your diary

Saturday 19 November – Sunday 20 November, 2005, 10am to 6pm Saturday, 10am to 7pm Sunday (with a banquet on Saturday 8pm-11pm). Liberty 2005: The Annual London Conference of the Libertarian Alliance and the Libertarian International, The National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, London SW1. Full conference £85/US\$150 (covers conference attendance, tea, coffee and soft drinks served throughout the Conference, and the closing Banquet). Banquet only £35/US\$65.

Speakers: Mattias Bengtson (Centre for the New Europe); Prof Gabriel Calzada (King Juan Carlos University in Spain and libertarian think tank Instituto Juan de Mariana); Dr. Ben Cosin (former Lecturer in Sociology at the Open University); Prof Frank Van Dunn (University of Ghent); Dr Richard Ebeling (Foundation for Economic Education); Dr Sean Gabb (Libertarian Alliance); Dr Syed Kamall (Conservative MEP); Sacha Kumaria (Stockholm Network); Christian Michel (Libertarian International and Libertarian Alliance); Dr Julian Morris (International Policy Network and University of Buckingham), and William Thomas (Objectivist Centre). Plus "Think Tank Room" (displays and sale of publications by major British think tanks, political journals and publishers). Banquet guest of honour and speaker: Stephen Pollard, Centre for the New Europe and newspaper columnist, plus annual Liberty Awards.

Contact: Dr Chris R Tame, Director, Libertarian Alliance, Suite 35, 2 Lansdowne Row, London, W1J 6HL, telephone 0870 2421712, e-mail: director@libertarian.co.uk, or book on-line at www.libertarian.co.uk/conf05.htm

Tuesday, 22 November 2005, 12.30 pm, Freedom Association City of London branch meeting, The Counting House pub, 50 Cornhill, London EC3 (free admission; there will be a voluntary collection at the meeting). Talk by Lindsay Jenkins, investigative author and journalist. Contact: Michael McGough, mobile 07979 695 611, e-mail: michael.mcgough@lineone.net

Thursday, 24th November 2005, 12.30pm for 1.00pm. The Society for Individual Freedom's 2005 Luncheon at the House of Commons, London, SW1. Held by kind invitation of the Rt Hon Eric Forth PC, MP for Bromley and Chislehurst. Mr Forth will also be the speaker. For reasons of security, organisation and likely high demand your early application is advised. Tickets are £39 each, available from: Ms Lucy Ryder, Society for Individual Freedom, 117 Gresham Road, Staines TW18 2FB. Cheques should be made payable to the 'Society for Individual Freedom'. The exact entrance and room at the House of Commons will be noted on the ticket sent to you. All requests for further information should be directed to the SIF chairman, Michael Plumbe, on 01424 713737 or e-mail: chairman@individualist.org.uk.

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Overlooked Britain

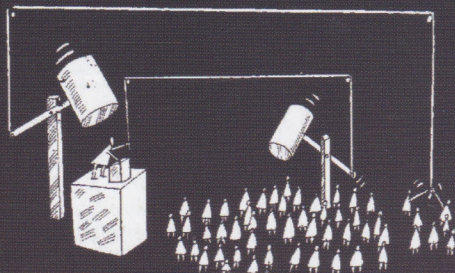
Dunottar Castle

Dunnottar Castle, on the Kincardineshire coast just south of Stonehaven, was founded as a Pictish fortress. The 5th Century Scottish apostle St Ninian is supposed to have founded a settlement here. In 1297, the castle, then held by the English, was seized by William Wallace. In 1336, the castle was recaptured by the English, but shortly afterwards taken and destroyed by the Scottish Regent. In 1639, the holder of the rebuilt castle, the 7th Earl Marischal, joined with Montrose and the Covenanters in the capture of Aberdeen. The Earl Marischal then refused to join Montrose when Montrose switched to the Royalist cause, and was besieged in his castle, watching from his battlements while Montrose's troops ravaged the adjoining farmlands, being 'comforted' by the minister Andrew Cant, who said "Trouble not, for the reek will be a sweet-smelling incense in the nostrils of the Lord".

In May 1685, 167 Covenanting prisoners (including women) were incarcerated in what became known as the 'Whig's Vault' in the castle, in which many died. By 1699, the castle was being used to imprison suspected Jacobites. In 1715, the castle's cannon were used by the Jacobite army. After the failure of the '15, the castle was forfeited, and finally dismantled in 1718.

Paradoxes of Power

Reflections on the
Thatcher Interlude



Alfred Sherman

Thumb through the index of almost any study of the Thatcher years and you will come across the name of Sir Alfred Sherman. In her memoirs Lady Thatcher herself pays tribute to Sherman's 'brilliance', and the 'force and clarity of his mind'. She credits him with a central role in her achievements, especially as Leader of the Opposition but also after she became PM.

Born in 1919 in London's East End, until 1948 Sherman was a Communist and fought in the Spanish Civil War. But he ended up a free-market crusader. The book describes his relationship with Sir Keith Joseph and his role in the formation of the Centre for Policy Studies. Sherman examines the origins and development of 'Thatcherism', but concludes that the Conservative administrations of the 1980s were, for the most part, an 'interlude' and that the post-war consensus remains largely unscathed — 'we are back to where we started'. 184 pp. (hbk.) £17.95/\$34.90 **£14.95**

"These essays are highly relevant to the politics of today." **Norman Tebbit**



Lady Thatcher and Alexander Deane, author of *The Great Abdication* (£9.95/\$17.90 **£6.95**) at the launch of Sir Alfred Sherman's *Paradoxes of Power*, Centre for Policy Studies, 27 July 2005.

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